

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XXI
(New Series, Vol. X)
1939

PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

A

DO

NO

BO

CC

IN

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI

ARTICLES

THE CONQUEST OF THE CHINIPAS. <i>John F. Bannon</i>	3
HENNEPIN'S VOYAGE TO THE GULF OF MEXICO 1680. <i>Jean Delanglez</i>	32
THE CRITICAL PERIOD IN MISSION HISTORY. <i>W. Eugene Shiels</i> .	97
CATHOLIC FIRST THINGS IN THE UNITED STATES. <i>Gilbert J. Gar- raghan</i>	110
THE HIGHER LAW CONTROVERSY. <i>Frederick E. Welfle</i>	185
THE FIRST BOOKSTORE IN SAINT LOUIS. <i>John Francis McDermott</i>	206
THE LEGAL CRISIS IN THE JESUIT MISSIONS OF HISPANIC AMERICA. <i>W. Eugene Shiels</i>	253
THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO: DELISLE'S INTERPRETATION. <i>Barbara Boston</i>	277
Mlle. DE ROYBON D'ALLONNE: LA SALLE'S FIANCEE? <i>Jean Delanglez</i>	298

DOCUMENTS

TONTI LETTERS. <i>Jean Delanglez</i>	209
NOTES AND COMMENT	82, 167, 239, 314
BOOK REVIEWS	86, 174, 245, 320
CONTRIBUTORS	250, 327
INDEX	329

ORIGINAL
SERIAL L
NO. 00
C

IDEAL BOOK
SERIAL LIBRARY
NO. 95

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY, 1939

VOLUME 21

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 10

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

THE CONQUEST OF THE CINQUEAS

John P. Hanson

HENNEPIN'S VOYAGE TO THE GULF OF MEXICO 1680

John P. Hanson

NOTES AND COMMENT

BOOK REVIEWS

GARRAGHAN, *The Journey of the Middle United States*; BRAN-
LAN, *Peirre de China: French, British, American*; CHENE
(TR.), *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*;
EDWARDS (COMP.), *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson
Turner*; KOELMEIER, *The Old Northwest as the Epitome of
the Arch of American Federal Union*; HUTCHINSON (ED.),
The Marcus W. Jernegan Essay in American Historiography.

PUBLISHED BY LOUISIANA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

v

b
o
t
e
a
a
ti
C
p
A
o

d
d
fi
la
y
—

M
ar

th
fo
Je
Co
ph
Le
Aa
er
th
cr
Si
re
let
let

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY, 1939

VOLUME 21

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 10

NUMBER 1

The Conquest of the Chinipas

I. THE CONQUEST

The heart of the Chinipas region lies about midway on a line between Mexico City and Los Angeles, California. This section of rugged mountain country, over three hundred miles south of the state of New Mexico, is gouged in jagged fashion by treacherous barrancas and awesome gorges. The Mayo and the Fuerte are the principal rivers of a network which drains the sierras and carries the waters of the highlands in a southwesterly direction toward the middle of the Gulf of California. The isolated Chinipas area with its rough topography offers an interesting page in the history of the Spanish advance toward California and Arizona. Mines and missions are the main elements in the story of the conquest and occupation of the land.

The mountain fastnesses of Chinipas in the days of Spanish dominion in Mexico were inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, living simply yet tolerably well on the produce of the fields which the sierra occasionally had not engrossed. The homeland of these natives was at an intermediate altitude, high but yet quite warm.¹ The mountain slopes at this altitude were plen-

¹ For a brief description of tribal life in the mountains see Catherine M. McShane, "Pueblo Founding in Early Mexico," *Mid-America*, XX (January 1938), 5.

A word is necessary here to explain the primary materials on which this paper is based and to give a key to the abbreviations used in the following footnotes. The Bancroft Library possesses a large collection of Jesuit Annual Letters from the Archivo General of Mexico and from the Central Archives of the Society of Jesus, in transcript, photostat, and photofilm. For a description of these, see Peter M. Dunne, "Jesuit Annual Letters in the Bancroft Library," *Mid-America*, XX (October 1938), 263. As regards abbreviations: for documents coming from the Archivo General the letters AG will be used; for those from the Central Archive of the Jesuits, CASJ will be used; the manuscripts in transcript at the Bancroft Library entitled *Memorias of Sinaloa*, will be referred to as *Mem. Sin.*, and those entitled *Materiales para la Historia de Sonora* will be referred to as *Mat. Son.* *Papeles de Jesuitas* is a collection of autograph letters and papers written by various fathers before the expulsion. Other letters in transcript are from the Jesuit Generals in Rome to the Pro-

tifully wooded and the streams and subsoil rich in precious metals,² as a later age was abundantly to prove, but the local tribal units of the area were scattered and disunited. Life in the sierra reflected in striking ways the ruggedness of the natural surroundings. It was hard. Enmities between the small tribes made war the common state of things. Chinipas had little love for their northern neighbors, the Varohios and the Hios, and even less for those to the east, the Guazáparis and the Témoris, while to the south were the Zoes, Huites, and the Sinaloas. To bring some unity and civilization into the area was a necessary task if the frontier was to be developed and expanded.

As early as 1589 the Spaniards had penetrated into this country in search of mines, but their findings evidently were not sufficiently promising to invite immediate occupation. Although the land does not come into the pages of history during the ten years following, the memory of the expedition was not lost. To follow up the earlier quest, the viceroy, Conde de Monterrey, issued an order to Captain Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, military commandant on the northwestern frontier, bidding him to undertake an *entrada* into the Chinipas region. In that same year, 1601, Hurdaide set out for the sierra country, a journey of some forty leagues beyond his Villa. His company of twenty-three soldiers was strengthened by a band of Indian allies, while the chaplain and missionary, Father Pedro Méndez, and several Spanish prospectors completed the party.³

The expedition had scarce any other choice of route save that which nature had provided through the opening in the cordillera whence the Fuerte tumbles down into the valley. Accordingly the Spaniards followed the course of this stream, passed through the lands of the powerful Sinaloas, on through the Huite country to the forks of the river. There they pointed north along the right or the Chinipas branch. Their passage through the Sinaloa territory had been effected peaceably enough. These Indians, though not yet Christians, had showed the Spaniards many marks of friendship, even offering guides

vincials in Mexico. The map accompanying this article was drawn by W. Lueder of the Bancroft Library from data compiled by the writer. The inset map was added by the editor of MID-AMERICA.

² *Documentos para la Historia de México*, Mexico, 1853-1857, IV serie, IV, 107-109.

³ *Anua de la Provincia de México e Islas Philippinas desde el abril de 1600 hasta el de 1602*, CASJ, Mex. 14; Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*. . . , Madrid, 1645, 95-96; Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1841-1842, I, 388-389. These furnish data for the events of the year 1601.

for the expedition. But the Sinaloas were clever pretenders and quite thoroughly deceived the Spaniards by this show of friendship, which covered anything but amicable designs; their emissaries were already in the highlands inciting the Chinipas to resist the invasion of the sierra. The *serranos* needed little encouragement, and plans were quickly laid.

The Chinipas made no effort to check the Spaniards until the latter had advanced well into the sierra. At one of the narrowest of the defiles along the way, where there was scarcely a path along the side of the cliff, they were waiting. The Spaniards came up and broke ranks, for it was impossible for more than one man to advance at a time. Hurdaide, with Father Méndez, eight soldiers, and a few of the pack animals, led the way. Hardly had they separated from the rest, when the Chinipas from their position high up on the crags let fly a shower of arrows and began to roll huge boulders down upon the unsuspecting company. Fortunately the rear guard was still fairly free. Hurdaide and his little band scrambled forward to a place of shelter beneath a ragged cliff. This protected them from the avalanche of boulders, which bounced off the top of the cliff down into the chasm beneath. From this position the captain signaled to the rear guard to open fire on the enemy and, if possible, harry them out of their vantage points above. The terrain made such a maneuver practically impossible, so the little band settled down to a state of siege, without benefit of walls and bastions.

For the rest of that day⁴ and the best part of the next the battle went on. The Indians kept up their barrage of stones; the Spaniards used their firearms to some small advantage. Early in the fray the Indians had managed to steal a great copper kettle from the baggage. It made a grand drum and to its music they added the defiant chant: "You'll not get out of here, Captain! You'll not get out!" The situation was indeed precarious, and the Spaniards were probably not so sure that the Indians might not be correct.

Noon of the second day passed. The Spaniards had not eaten since the morning before, and during the night rest had been unthinkable. They were nearing exhaustion. Providentially the Indians too, probably through lack of food and also due to the losses which the Spaniards' gunfire had caused, were ready to call a halt. During the early afternoon they withdrew. Once

⁴ The Anua of 1600-1602 says it was Tuesday, April 1.

again the party was united. Stock was taken of the losses which were confined to pack animals and baggage, P. Méndez losing his Mass kit. After a most welcome meal and a night's rest, despite the temper of the natives, Hurdaide pushed on a bit farther. He was a soldier and he had his orders. However, little evidence of mineral wealth was found to reward him for his trouble.

On the homeward march Hurdaide paused among the traitorous Sinaloas to administer well-deserved punishment for their treachery. From there the little company returned to the Villa. Thus ended the first visit to the sierra folk at the headwaters of the Fuerte and the Mayo.

The next contact took place in quite different circumstances. To cover the frontier advance to the Mayo and also to save the Yaquis, but very recently brought to terms, in 1610 the Fuerte de Montesclaros was erected at a strategic point on the second river, which seems to have its present name, Río Fuerte, from the fort.⁵ This new fort was much too close to their sierra to allow the Chínipas to continue on in the self-satisfied security which they had enjoyed since their first brush with the Spaniards nine years before. *El Capitán* had the reputation of a long arm and an even longer memory. Consequently in a general council, the *serranos*, adopting prudence as the better part of valor, determined to send two of their chiefs down to the Villa to make peace with the captain, to promise friendly service and to ask that a missionary be assigned them.⁶ This last needed the viceroy's permission, as well as more tried proofs of Chínipas loyalty. Accordingly Hurdaide limited himself to thanking the Indians for this expression of good will and promised that in due time a padre would be sent.

Developments however were taking place on the Fuerte at that moment, which were destined to make Don Diego's promise more than mere politeness.⁷ For the past few years Father Cristóbal de Villalta, the Jesuit missionary at work among the Sinaloas and neighboring tribes, was having considerable success. He was already making overtures to the Zoes, a tribe living along the Río Choix, one of the left forks of the Fuerte, and was looking forward eagerly to the conquest of the Huities, who

⁵ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 178-179.

⁶ According to the Anua of 1610, Mem. Sin., 434, the Chínipas were only one of eight nations who in this year came to the Villa to make peace with the Spaniards.

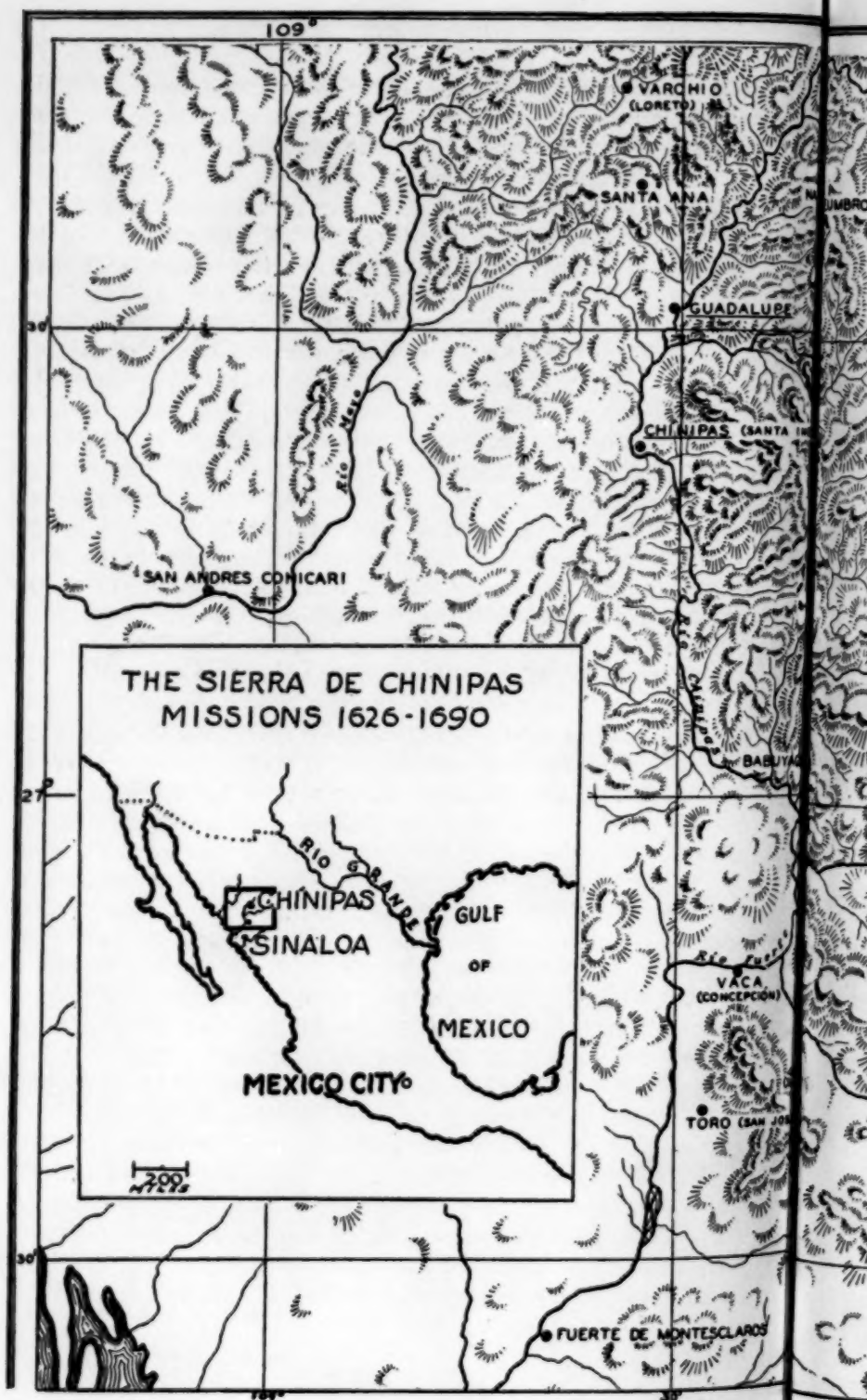
⁷ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 214-220.

inhabited the crags to the other side of the river, some seven leagues above the Sinaloas. For the moment these Huites were preoccupying his thoughts because they had a very important part in a plan which he was forming.

In 1612 Villalta sent an embassy of Christian Sinaloas to call on the Huites in order to ask them to descend into the valley to pay him a visit. This goodwill mission bore fruit, for a number of Huites accompanied the ambassadors back to Toro, the *cabecera* (head station) of the Sinaloa mission area. Villalta received them with every possible mark of hospitality and, before they departed, he uncovered his scheme. They desired a padre, but their habitat was so inaccessible that a visit to them was almost impossible. But, if they would consent to come down from their eagle-nest haunts, and settle in the upper valley, then it would be easy for him to accede to their very excellent request. The idea was a good one; but, as it is no simple matter to get even a civilized man to abandon homeland and familiar surroundings, the padre's scheme raised a difficult problem for these savages. So time went on and the Huites, though they often came down to Toro to visit Villalta, still clung to their crags and summits.

Not to be foiled, Villalta resorted to a desperate expedient, which would have been foolhardy had there been less at stake. He risked life and limb to visit them. Such a mark of interest, coupled with the padre's eloquence, proved the deciding factor. Shortly thereafter some of the Huites came down to look over the site which the padre had painted in such glowing terms when among them. They were satisfied and before long a goodly number of the tribe was settling the place. But even so, the problem was only half solved. Convincing the others was the new problem.

While racking his brain for a solution a chance bit of information came Villalta's way. He learned that among the Chinipas there were detained as slaves quite a number of Huite captives, taken during the wars between the two nations. To arrange for their release surely would give the Huites an added proof of his sincere interest in them and possibly move the conservatives to join their fellows in the valley. The padre sent a messenger to the Chinipas with the request for the release of the captives, and found the *serranos* willing to oblige. Among the captives thus released was a Huite lass, "modest and prudent," who was to become an important, if not indirect, factor not only in





winning the rest of her people but also in preparing the Chínipas and their neighbors for conversion.

The Indian governor of Toro was Don Bautista, able and brave, a respected leader and an exemplary Christian. What was more, he was young and a widower. It was time that he took to himself another wife. Wise Father Villalta saw possibilities. A marriage between Don Bautista and the charming Huíte maiden might solve the problem of the recalcitrant Huites up in the mountains. He called Don Bautista and dropped a suggestion. The young *cacique* thought well of it. And before long there was a great feast on the Fuerte and great joy in Toro, for everybody applauded the match between the great chief of the Sinaloas and the former slave-girl.

It had been remarked that Don Bautista was a fine Christian. He was more, he was an apostle. Already he had lent valuable aid to Villalta in the conversion of his own people and of the neighboring Zoes. And hence, when the padre unfolded his next plan, Don Bautista enthusiastically consented. He and his bride were to visit the little lady's people and encourage the rest of them to move down into the valley that a mission might be established for the whole tribe. From there the bridal party was to move up the Chínipas fork of the Río Fuerte to carry a message of good will to the *serranos*, the *gobernadora's* former masters. What better Christian sermon could be preached than to see the powerful Sinaloa chieftain the loving husband of an erstwhile slave-girl?

Villalta's plan worked to perfection. The Huites swelled with pride at the honor which had come to one of their maidens, while the trip into the barranca country was little short of a triumph. The example of the young Christian couple worked wonders. When they returned, some ten or twelve Chínipas *caciques* came down with them, to verify at first hand the stories which had been told them of the Christian pueblos. Villalta and his neophytes welcomed the visitors warmly. Then he sent them on to the Villa, still under the care of Don Bautista, where they could personally speak to the Jesuit visitor, Diego de Guzmán, about a padre and also give Hurdaide further proof of their profession of loyalty of a few years back. When the Chínipas finally returned home, they were loud in their praise of all they had seen. The seeds of conversions were very definitely sown in the mountain people.

Unfortunately workers were still few and several years were

to pass before the desire of the Chinipas was to be realized. Meanwhile the padre of Toro frequently had the pleasure of playing host to visiting *caciques*, as well as to the rank and file, not only from among the Chinipas but also from the Guazáparis and Témoris. The sierra was becoming mission-minded.

In 1620 there was a crop failure in the valley and the tribes there were reduced to an extremity.⁸ Word of their distress somehow reached the sierra, possibly brought back by some of the regular visitors to Toro. One fine day there appeared before the padre's hut a group of Chinipas laden with large quantities of maize, beans, and grain, the sierra's contribution to brethren in distress. Nor did the clever Indians allow such an opportunity to escape. Once more they pressed their request for a padre. The missionary was deeply touched by their charity and promised to accede to their petition, bidding them prepare meanwhile for his visit.

There was jubilation in the sierra, when the ambassadors of charity returned with this good news. Everybody set to work.⁹ Roads had to be opened up and leveled off as much as possible. The padre would need a church and also a house; for good measure two churches were built. He would be able to care for them more efficiently if they were gathered together, and so of their own accord they formed four pueblos. In the Christian villages of the valley the visitors had seen crosses set up; the Chinipas did likewise. And lastly there were certain unseemly practices which the padre should not behold among them. Above all, the vice of drunkenness must be rooted out. But first they determined to have one grand farewell to heathendom.

The party, even as among more civilized folk, soon degenerated into a first-class brawl.¹⁰ The head *cacique*, who had sadly overestimated his capacity, sent an arrow through a relative, killing her. When the unfortunate man came to his senses, realizing the enormity of his crime and thinking of the proximity of the padre's long-awaited visit, he was deeply chagrined. What would this new padre of Toro think when he heard the story?¹¹ Might he not postpone his coming indefinitely? Or decide not to come at all? There was only one course open, go down to Toro and stand as his own accuser.

⁸ Alegre, II, 121.

⁹ Anua of 1621, Mem. Sin., 649-665.

¹⁰ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 220-221.

¹¹ Sometime in 1620, Villalta was called to Torin to be superior of the newly formed Mayo-Yaqui Mission of San Ignacio, and Father Pedro Juan Castini took his place at Toro.

The trip to the Sinaloa pueblo was normally a three day trek over an exceptionally difficult road. But too much was at stake to do things in the ordinary way. Haste at any cost was necessary. Scarcely twenty-four hours after leaving Chínipas the repentent *cacique* was at the feet of Castini with his sorry story. Father Castini, moved by the Indian's childlike simplicity, consoled him as best he could, and, at the *cacique's* own request, imposed a penance. On returning to the Chínipas the chief was to assemble his people in the church, recently completed, before them express his sorrow for the public crime and the bad example given, and beg pardon.

With great fidelity the *cacique* carried out the penance. After the ceremony of reparation was over, the penitent addressed his people: "In a fit of drunken excess I, whom you recognize as your head-chief, committed this crime. Now, after we are Christians, there must be no repetition of such a thing as this. Understand then that for the future no one of you shall dare touch liquor. Otherwise I shall be the one to mete out rigorous punishment." That was the beginning of the prohibition era among the Chínipas. And it is worth noting here that more than one of the later *Anuas* mention the almost total lack of drunkenness among this nation.

It is small wonder that, when Castini heard this, he hastened preparations for the *entrada*, which superiors had given him permission to make among these peoples.¹² He sent ahead word of the day of his departure from Toro, and a band of some hundred or more Chínipas came down to form an escort. The Indians had looked forward so long to this happy day that no detail was forgotten. We have already seen the preparations which were made in the sierra and the effort at road-building. But still that was not enough. The pueblos were three full days journey from Toro. The padre must spend two nights on the road, and they knew that each morning he would wish to say Mass. They provided accordingly. At the end of each day's march the padre found a comfortable little hut, well stocked with provisions. As the band advanced its number was swelled by further delegations of Indians.

The reception at the first Chínipas pueblo was enthusiastic, with arches erected along the way, drums beating, natives singing and dancing and carrying little crosses. But what most

¹² Material for the account of this *primera entrada* is drawn from the *Anua* of 1621, Mem. Sin., 649-654, which is based for events in the Sierra de Chínipas on a letter from Castini, and Ribas, 221-222.

touched the padre's heart was the voices of the children chanting Christian couplets, with the same words and tune as was familiar in the older pueblos of the valley. Castini's Sinaloa catechist, sent up sometime previously, had done his work well. The next were busy days, taken up with little catechetical talks, visits to the other pueblos of the tribe and the baptism of children¹³ and three adults, who were in danger of death. One of the high spots of these days was the great bonfire, kindled from the idols and other tokens of superstition which the Indians brought from their dwellings. Another consoling incident put a fitting climax to this *primera entrada*.

Some three leagues to the east, across ragged peaks, lived another nation, the Guazáparis, traditional enemies of the Chinipas. Since Don Bautista's goodwill tour a few years before, the padres had had the pleasure of receiving certain Guazápari and Témori chieftains at Toro. These Indians had been inspired with a desire for baptism. However, Castini had not planned to include them in this first visit. A providential chain of circumstances brought them to him, and thus before leaving the sierra the padre had the happiness of reconciling the two enemy nations and of presiding over a council in which Chinipa pledged firm friendship to Guazápari. Then with a light heart, accompanied by a band of twenty-four young Chinipas whom he had obtained permission to take back with him for training, Castini set out, forgetting the rough and tortuous paths back to his *partido* in the valley. Truly the sierra harvest gave great promise.

A year passed. There was a new burst of interest among the Zoes, and Castini had his hands full closer home.¹⁴ But the Chinipas, to make sure he would not forget them, sent down a delegation asking him to return.¹⁵ The delegation went on to the Villa to plead with Visitador Guzmán that Castini be allowed to remain in their land. The padre of Toro could not be spared, nor did Guzmán have another man to send. Still, the Indians' interest could not be allowed to pass unrewarded, so he asked the zealous Castini to make another trip into the sierra.

The joyous scenes of the preceding year were reenacted—the escort, the welcome, the same eagerness for baptism.¹⁶ The padre

¹³ Ribas, 222, says Castini baptized all the children of seven years and younger. The Anua for 1621 gives the number as 362.

¹⁴ Ribas, 224.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 224-227. This is the only full account of the *segunda entrada*. The Anua for 1622, AG, Misiones 25, has only a note. The *Annuae Litterae*

asked them to bring all the children born during the year that he might baptize them; he also desired information of any adults who were near death. There were seventy-seven infant and fifteen adult baptisms on this occasion. He wished to stay longer among these Chínipas, but he had promised the year before, to visit the Guazáparis and the Témoris on his next trip into the sierra, and besides, he could not remain away from his own *partido* too long.

The hard trip over the mountains to the Guazáparis and the Témoris had its recompense. While showing his interest in these people and further cementing the peace between them and the Chínipas, he was waited on by a delegation from the nations to the north, Varohios and Hios. These last asked him to include them also in his visit, but, since he did not have the proper permissions to undertake such an expedition, he regretfully refused. He went back to Chínipa and prepared to depart. To soften the disappointment of these faithful Indians at losing him so soon, he left among them one of his trusted Sinaloas as catechist. This was some compensation, and to show their gratitude the Chínipas gave the catechist one of their maidens to wed.

Back home in Toro Castini was kept too busy for the next few years to pay another call to the sierra. The Chínipas were growing impatient. Their visits to Toro were frequent and their requests for a resident padre increasingly pressing. Shortly after New Year's Day, 1626, a special delegation called on the visitador and earnestly pleaded for a padre.¹⁷ Many of their nation were dying and they were extremely desirous of baptism, for, as they assured the visitador, they did not wish to go to hell. This time the superior was in a position to give more than mere encouraging promises.

Two years before (1624), together with three other padres, an eager young Italian Jesuit had come up from the capital, fresh from his studies, and his already ardent zeal fanned by ten intensively spiritual months of the third probation. Since arriving in Sinaloa, Father Julio Pascual had more than proved his apostolic capabilities, substituting, for short periods during the absence of the resident padres, among the Zuaques, the Tehuecos, the Sinaloas, and the Yaquis.¹⁸ Such experience had surely seasoned him for the conquest and the hard life of the

Mexicanae, 1615-1649, CASJ, Mex. 15, has meagre details but gives the number of baptisms.

¹⁷ *Anua de Cinaloa de 1625-1626*; *Anua de 1626*, Mem. Sin.

¹⁸ *Annuæ Litteræ Mexicanæ*, 1615-1649. The section devoted to 1632 gives much interesting personal data on Pascual.

sierra. Accordingly the visitador wrote to Castini and asked him to send word to the Chinipas that early in February their petition would be granted, for they were to have a padre of their own.¹⁹

This welcome news brought to Vaca all the *caciques* of the nation, together with some one hundred and fifty Indians, to escort Father Pascual to his new home.²⁰ But one last disappointment was in store for the faithful *serranos*. Between Castini's message and the arrival of the cortège at Vaca, another letter had come from the Villa. The province had lost its great captain. Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide was dead, and superiors at the Villa were a bit worried as to what effect this news, when it got abroad among the Indians, might have.²¹ It seemed prudent to delay Pascual's *entrada*, at least until the arrival of the new captain.

Pascual found it no pleasant task telling his friends that he would be delayed yet some months. The Chinipas were deeply grieved and most of them returned home with heavy hearts. Some, however, stayed on at Vaca, determined to wait for their padre, no matter how long it might take. Their patience was not taxed for long, for Captain Pedro de Perea arrived in the province very shortly²² and immediately sanctioned Pascual's advance.

In early May of 1626 the party set out. Before it reached the sierra pueblos the word was abroad, and the travelers were joined by all the principal persons of the Chinipas. As night was falling, on March 6, the jubilant company entered the principal pueblo of the nation. The welcome extended to the padre, their padre, was most cordial. Father Pascual took a well-deserved night's rest and the next day began the work of which he had long dreamed. The response of the Indians was quick; within two months the whole tribe, some three hundred families in all, had been baptized. Pascual had found them in good dispositions and very well prepared to receive the sacrament.

The pueblo of Chinipa became Pascual's headquarters, and he

¹⁹ Anua de 1625-1626. This is the fullest and most reliable source for the Chinipas events of 1626.

²⁰ *Ibid.* The *Annuae Litterae Mexicanae*, 1615-1649, in treating of the year 1626, seem to contradict the Anua of 1626 in several places regarding names and dates, even though its author apparently used the Anua of 1626.

²¹ Such anxiety was not unfounded, as events on the upper Yaqui River proved. On learning of the passing of the great capitán, the Nebomes boldly threatened the life of Father Oliñano and actually wounded Father Vander-sipe.

²² H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 227.

began to think of it as a possible *cabecera* of a flourishing mission district. All things considered it was well situated for the purpose. In a letter of August 28, 1626, to the visitador, Pascual describes it:

This place is in a valley which has fine fields roundabout for planting. The Indians are great farmers and regularly have fine harvests, rarely knowing want. In fact they furnish many others who come here to purchase maize, and I have noted that these other Indians take away much more than the Chínipas themselves use. This valley is hedged about by high and rugged peaks. A rushing river runs through its center, the same river which flows by our Fuerte de Montesclaros.²³

Pascual was not long in beginning to realize his dream of a great mission district, nor were the neighboring nations far behind the Chínipas in their eagerness to welcome him. Soon he was bombarding his superiors with letters asking for permission to visit the other sierra nations. Towards the end of that first year (1626) he made an *entrada* among the Varohios, four leagues up the river, and spent two very full days there, building a little chapel, catechizing, receiving visits from nations farther on. He returned to Chínipa determined in the near future to found a pueblo in the new country. This came to pass the following year (1627), when several *rancherías* of Indians speaking the Hia tongue were settled about the little chapel.²⁴

During the next few years the progress was consoling. Contacts were kept with the Guazáparis to the east, in which quarter the padre had great hopes. However, it was there that trouble began to brew, certainly in 1631 and possibly even a year earlier.²⁵

There was among the Guazáparis a proud and influential *cacique*, Cobameai by name, "*grande hablador y parlero*." He soon began to regret the enthusiasm he had earlier shown for the Christian way of life—it was he who had welcomed Castini to his nation in 1622. So he went amongst his tribesmen talking against the padre of Chínipa. Secret councils were held. Cobameai found others who shared his views, and finally they determined to watch for a suitable occasion to rid their sierra of the white troublemaker.

²³ Pascual's letter is quoted in part in the *Anua de 1625-1626*.

²⁴ *Misiones de la Provincia de Cinaloa*, AG, Misiones 25, is a report by Father Juan Varela, written in February, 1628. The pueblo mentioned is the one later known as Guadalupe; it is not the Varohio of "reconquest days."

²⁵ Ribas, *Historia de los triunfos*, 256-265, is the sole authority for these years 1630-1632. The *Sinaloa Anuas* are missing.

Some Christian Indians learning of the plottings hastened to Chínipa to warn Father Pascual. He took their talk of danger lightly, dismissed the thought of possible treachery, and went his usual kindly way. But rumors of these councils among the Guazáparis trickled down into the valley. The superior at the Villa was disturbed and informed the captain. The captain in his turn was worried and immediately dispatched a detail of six soldiers to Chínipa to protect Pascual.

The appearance of the military, joined with the fearless exhortations of Pascual, brought quiet, but it was to prove a truce rather than a peace. After things seemed to have returned to normal the too trustful Pascual dismissed the soldiers and resolved to carry on as he had done before, placing all his confidence in the protection of his Master. But scarce had the soldiers gotten out of the sierra when the Guazáparis were back to their plottings, encouraged, says Ribas, by apostate Tepehuanes, still in hiding from the justice which their bloody deeds of fifteen years before richly deserved.

The splendid progress of the Chínipas mission and doubtless the frequent letters of Pascual moved superiors to assign a second padre to the sierra. In the third week of January, 1632, Pascual had the joy of welcoming a companion and co-worker in the person of the young Portuguese, Father Manuel Martínez. This was the first time since bidding farewell to Castini at Vaca, in 1626, that Pascual had seen one of his brethren. In fact, save for the six soldiers and possibly an occasional prospector, he had been the lone white man in those parts for the past five or six years. It is easy to imagine how those first few days together were spent. Martínez, no doubt, was kept up late into the night answering questions, and he must have had much interesting information of the outside world to impart.

The few pleasant days came to an end on Sunday, January 25, 1632. There was work to be done. Martínez was to take charge of the Varohio pueblo up the river and he was anxious, with all the enthusiasm of youth, to be about his task. After saying Mass the two Black Robes set out up the river with nine Chínipas carpenters and eight young acolytes. They were received with every appearance of cordiality. But underneath their smiles the Varohios harbored sinister designs, for the Guazápari malcontents had won many of them to the plot.

Things passed quite normally until Thursday. That day a faithful catechist came to inform Pascual of the plans being

hatched. The padre did not take the report too seriously and withheld judgment until he should have clearer proofs of Varohio disloyalty. However, when two other Varohios brought the same story the next day, Pascual's doubts vanished. He began to act, convinced now that trouble and danger were in the offing. A messenger was dispatched to Chínipa for help. Unfortunately, the runner found few men at home on arriving; but these few willingly hastened off to rescue the padres. Halfway up they learned to their dismay how hopelessly they were outnumbered by the conspirators and prudently turned back to summon a stronger force.

Meanwhile events at the Varohio pueblo were moving fast. Saturday morning dawned and the padres awoke to find both their house and the church surrounded by hostile Indians. Soon firebrands were flying and the roof was ablaze. Before it got well under way the missionaries confessed to each other, and Pascual heard the confessions of the Indians who had accompanied them. He encouraged these Indians to die bravely but ordered them to take any chance of escape that might offer itself and not to stay behind with himself and Martínez. Two of the youngsters did escape, and from them Ribas got the story of the last hours of two great missionaries. The smoke from the burning roof soon became suffocating and the besieged were forced into the patio which connected the church and the house. During the afternoon Pascual tried to shake the rebels in their criminal design, but to no avail. Night came on, and the padres could hear Cobameai inciting his companions to keep their promise and do away with the missionaries. By morning he had them aroused to action. They made an assault on the house. It was the end.

Word of the disaster reached Chínipa later that day, and the next morning the devoted Indians came up to carry away the bodies. They buried them on either side of the altar in the church of the main pueblo. Here the bodies rested for a fortnight, when with deep regret they surrendered them to Father Marcos Gómez, who bore them back the sixteen leagues to his mission of Conicari, on the Río Mayo. There, on February 14, the padres gathered from the nearby missions to pay a last honor to brethren whom they looked upon as martyrs for the faith.²⁶

²⁶ The bodies remained in the church at Conicari until 1907. They were then transferred to the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City, according to Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas en México durante la Época Colonial*, (unpublished ms.). The writer does not know what has become of them since the dismantling of the Colegio in 1933.

For their unflagging loyalty to the padres, both in life and in death, the Chinipas had to bear the furious resentment of the Varohios and the Guazáparis.²⁷ They had to live in a continual state of armed preparedness. But persecution did not shake their faith. They sent messengers to the Villa to ask for the consolation of another padre. Their request was granted. The veteran Juan Varela took this dangerous assignment.²⁸ Captain Perea detailed a squad of six soldiers to accompany him. And the Chinipas, grateful for the mark of consideration and confidence shown them, took every precaution to protect their treasured padre.

The rebels swore to do to death the whole pueblo, padre, soldiers, and Chinipas. One night, shortly after the padre's arrival, a desperate band did attack the mission. The Chinipas were alert, informed in good time by some Christian Guazáparis who soundly disapproved of the turn affairs had taken in their tribe. They beat off the attackers and took several prisoners, whom they turned over to the captain for judgment. Nevertheless, it soon became clear to all that this type of armed existence was far too precarious. So it was decided to move down into the valley. Regretfully the Chinipas dismantled their fine church, gathered their few belongings, bade farewell to their homeland, and "true exiles for Christ," as Ribas fondly calls them, moved in among the Sinaloas.

The first part of the sierra story closes with the campaign of reprisals waged against the rebels by Perea.²⁹ With the aid of a band of Indian allies they were tracked into their mountain hide-outs. The punishment which redman meted out to redman was more severe than the Spaniards would have wished. The Indian allies killed some eight hundred of the rebels. About eighty families of the survivors were also induced to come down into the valley and settle among the Sinaloas under the care of Father Francisco Torices. Many remained in the sierra and reverted to their old life of savagery.

II. THE RECONQUEST

The departure of the Chinipas left the Varohios for some years as the dominant nation, still firm in their apostacy. A tribe

²⁷ Ribas, 266-267.

²⁸ In the works of Ribas, Alegre, and others, Varela goes unnamed; he is merely an *otro padre*. But the *Annuae Litterae Mexicanae*, in the section for 1637, definitely identifies the courageous missionary as Juan Varela, "Rectorem Cinaloensis Collegii. . . ."

²⁹ Ribas, 268; Alegre, II, 193.

called the Guailopos moved into the land which the Chinipas had vacated. Gradually, however, contacts with the Tarahumares brought the influence of these last to the fore, and the padres of the "reconquest" found that the Tarahumar language had practically supplanted all the others. Loss of tribal identity, philosophizes the chronicler, was the heavy price which the rebels had to pay for their crime. During these years, too, the sierra became something of a place of refuge for discontented Indians from the various Christian pueblos of the western slope. The Maguiaguis escaped thither in considerable numbers and threw in their lot with the *serranos*.³⁰ So thirty-eight years went by. The mission frontier pushed on past the sierra. Encircling the mountain villages were the missionized lands of Tarahumara Baja and Alta, the upper Yaqui, and Sonora.

In the year 1670, however, Father Alvaro Flores de la Sierra, in his mission at Toro, played host to a group of visitors from the high lands.³¹ Drawn either by curiosity to see for themselves just what a Christian pueblo was like or possibly desirous of looking up some of their relatives, a band of Yecaromes had made the three-day journey to the upper valley of the Fuerte. The wise missionary immediately seized on this visit as a means of renewed contact with the mountain peoples and made the most of it. His hospitality was well repaid, for before their return home these Yecaromes were baptized. The padre sent them back with a proposal to their kinsmen and neighbors.

Father Sierra was anxious to have more of the mountain folk follow the example of the Yecaromes, but he could not in conscience baptize with too free a hand and then abandon the neophytes to the hazards and temptations which their faith would inevitably run in pagan home surroundings. Furthermore, he could not leave his own Indians to visit the sierra regularly. More than physical difficulties of the hard journey thither made visits impossible, for there were royal orders and commands of mission superiors to forbid new advances without express vice-regal permission and authorization. Hence Sierra proposed to these Yecarome neophytes that they persuade such of their fel-

³⁰ The writer has been unable to locate the home pueblo of these Maguiaguis.

³¹ The principal source for the "reconquest," down to 1680, is the *Relación de la nueva entrada de los padras de la Compañía de Jesús a las naciones de Chinipa, Varohios, Guailopos, Guazáparis, Témoris y otras*, copied in *Mat. Son.*, 283-294, and also printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3a serie, 779-789. Its author is unknown and the date of composition is not given, but from internal evidence it can be set down as 1681.

lows as were desirous of baptism to move down to a point about halfway between their lands and Toro. This move would have a double advantage: the padre could visit them with greater regularity, and, more important still, as far as the Indians were concerned, the new location would be no drastic change in natural surroundings, nor would it force an alteration in their customary mode of life. The idea seems to have caught the Indians' fancy, for very soon they and a number of their tribe settled a *ranchería* in a site more accessible to the valley. The place became known as San Francisco Javier de Babuyagui.³²

The *visita* of Babuyagui formed the first link in the chain with which Sierra planned to join the sierra once again to the missions of the western slope. During the next three years (1670-1673) things worked out very much as he had hoped. At each visit to Babuyagui his catechist had some of the Indians ready for baptism, while there were always others, lately arrived, whom he was preparing. Meanwhile he pressed superiors for help. A resident missionary at Babuyagui was of vital importance for the completion of his scheme.

In 1673 the situation appeared hopeful.³³ Word came to Toro that five missionaries were on their way to the Río Fuerte. There was a bit of disappointment when only four arrived, the fifth having died on the road up. Even so, Sierra was encouraged, and, when one of the party handed him a letter which appointed him *visitador* of the district, he felt himself in a perfect position to push his plans of campaign for the reduction of the sierra. One of the new padres could be stationed at Babuyagui and it was arranged that from time to time this padre was to push beyond the halfway mark to visit the tribes living in the heart of the sierra.

Thus the "reconquest" was prepared for. There was no human flaw in the plan. But man proposes and God disposes. The year was hardly out and the fine church at San Javier de Babuyagui begun, when Father Sierra was called to his reward, after a full quarter century in the missions of Sinaloa. This left the populous Christian *partido* of Toro without a shepherd. Regretfully superiors had to recall Father José de Tapia³⁴ from Babuyagui and put him in charge of the older pueblos, asking him in

³² The exact location of Babuyagui is not certain. Its approximate site on the map is based upon the few indications in the source materials, such as "a la boca de la sierra."

³³ *Relación de la nueva entrada*, 286.

³⁴ The *Relación* leaves the padre unnamed. Thanks to Alegre, III, 13, we learn that it was Padre Tapia.

his charity and zeal to do what he could to preserve the gains of the halfway station at San Javier. This he did during the following year, until an untoward accident determined the abandonment of the arrangement. But this time a kindly Providence was most definitely on the side of the Indians, as the sequel was to show.

Babuyagui had always been a source of difficulties, and only the greater hopes connected with it made these difficulties endurable. However, a problem of another sort arose to complicate matters.³⁵ The place very soon after its foundation became a very attractive spot for fugitive Maguiaguis, so attractive that the padre of their pueblo began to raise the question with the authorities regarding the abandonment of this *visita*. To forestall such a possibility Tapia, who had entered into Sierra's plan with enthusiasm, promised to do what he could to have the fugitives return to their own pueblo. But, often as he visited Babuyagui, he never once succeeded in finding any of the Maguiaguis at home. He invariably sent word of his coming, in order that the Indians might try to make the road in some wise passable; his mistake lay precisely here. The cunning fugitives always had ample time to get out of sight and reach. The only way to foil them was to pay a surprise visit to Babuyagui.

One fine morning the padre set out. Mounted, he moved along the river past Vaca. Once above this mission his troubles began. The going became more dangerous with every step. Yet he went on, determined to find the Maguiaguis at home. Some five leagues above Vaca a tree had fallen across the trail. On arriving at the obstacle the padre's mount took fright and in attempting to jump the tree lost its footing and rolled down the precipitous ravine together with its rider. The padre was badly shaken and bruised and had one hand rather severely gashed. When he recovered from the shock, he concluded there was nothing to do but return to Vaca. He was still a considerable distance from Babuyagui and much weakened by loss of blood. He took another mount. But fear had seized all the animals; his second mount soon got out of control, and the padre had to jump off as best he could. The beast, so the chronicler attests, did not stop running for three full leagues. Finally, with much difficulty the padre managed to make his way back to Vaca, where he was cared for with great charity and consideration.

That, unfortunately, was not the end of the affair. When

³⁵ Relación de la nueva entrada, 288.

superiors heard of the mishap and realized how dangerously close it had come to depriving the mission of a valuable worker, they sent orders to abandon the *visita* until such time as a padre could be sent there in residence. The missionary was to encourage the Indians of Babuyagui to come either to Vaca or Toro to be cared for spiritually. Things indeed looked black, but the spirit of Father Sierra, and of Pascual and Martínez, martyrs of Chinipas, were apparently watching over the missions, for help was on the way.

Early in the year 1676 a band of young missionaries came from Europe to the western missions, New Spain, the Philippines, and the Mariana Islands. There were famous names in that band: Juan María Salvatierra, future founder of the Baja California mission, destined to receive his first missionary experience in the Sierra de Chinipas; Juan Bautista Zappa, a great preacher and missionary in the urban and country districts of central Mexico; Nicolas de Prado and Fernando Pécoro, about whom much of the remainder of this story turns; Juan Ortiz de Foronda and Manuel Sánchez, future martyrs among the Tarahumares, and Manuel Solorzano, who was to shed his blood for the faith in the Marianas.³⁶ Prado was at first anxious to cross the Pacific to work in the Marianas, but while in Mexico, interior promptings and the eloquent pleadings of the Provincial, Francisco Jiménez, persuaded him to change his allegiance to Sinaloa. He was immediately appointed to reopen the missions of the Sierra de Chinipas.³⁷

Prado wasted no time in the capital, for, as the chronicler assures us, in a few days he had made the three hundred and thirty league journey to Toro, arriving on April 17, 1676.³⁸ Here he found a number of his future charges, whose joy was great to find themselves in possession of a padre of their own. However, the mission superiors deemed it imprudent for Prado to go into the sierra alone, because of the distance from the other missions and also because of the great number of Indians there. A zealous man would soon wear himself out in the endeavor to gather all of the rich harvest which had been ripening these last years, thanks to the labors of Flores de la Sierra and José de Tapia at the ill-fated *visita* of Babuyagui. Another padre had

³⁶ These names have been gathered from various sources, the *Relación de la nueva entrada*, Alegre, and Miguel Venegas, *Vida del P. Juan María de Salvatierra*, Mexico, 1754.

³⁷ *Relación de la nueva entrada*, 288.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 288-292.

been promised and he would soon arrive. In the meantime Father Prado could well spend his time studying the Varohio and other sierra languages.

Several other padres soon reached the Río Fuerte, and the visitador named Fernando Pécoro as Prado's companion. All was now in readiness for the beginning of the "reconquest," all save one thing which prudence suggested. Having heard of the fickle nature of the natives, the padres decided to make sure that their welcome among the pagan *serranos* would be as the Christian Varohios and Yecaromes from Babuyagui had promised. First they sent messengers to announce their coming and to sound out the several tribes. A delegation of Huites went to the Témoris and one from Toro to the Varohios and the tribes who had moved into the lands of the Chinipas. The messengers were back shortly with favorable assurances.

On June 11, 1676, the party set out from Vaca, two padres and the Christian Indians who had continued on at Babuyagui. The missionaries were well aware that their undertaking would be studded with difficulties, but they did not expect these to begin until they got well into the sierra. Their inexperience, however, advanced their troubles some four or five days. Tapia and his Christians of Toro, Vaca, and Choix, had been generous in stocking the expedition with provisions, not only for the journey but also very thoughtfully for the first few days at Chinipa. The new padres entrusted these precious stores to the care of the Indians. The first day the party ate like lords. The second day when mealtime came and a halt was called, the Indians looked sheepish, shrugged their shoulders, and told the padres that there was nothing left. So much food ready at hand had been too great a temptation to Indian appetites. So Prado and Pécoro learned a valuable, if painful, lesson, and during the next days joined the Indians in their humble fare of thistles and wild honey.

Sometime on June 17, after almost six days on the road, the little party entered into the valley opening around Chinipa. The place, abandoned by the padres for over forty years, still held reminders of the period of conquest. The walls of the large church built by Pascual and his devoted neophytes were still standing. To one side were the ruins of his house. Prado and Pécoro covered over one of the corners of this latter ruin and used it as their dwelling for the first few days. While their spirits rejoiced in these hardships, the strenuous existence and the

warm weather took a toll on their bodies. Pécoro was taken quite sick, and Prado, not too robust to begin with, also showed the effects of this wild and uncivilized mode of life. However, both soon recovered with a little rest and set to work.

Their first problem was to overcome the sense of wonder with which they inspired the simple Indians, many of whom had never before seen a white man, let alone a Black Robe. The padres resorted to all the tricks which charity and psychology could suggest. According to the chronicler, their participation in the Indians' games did most to break down the barrier of suspicion and timidity, and before long the natives were allowing the padres to baptize the children. The mission thus established was called Santa Inés de Chinipas. After a month together the missionaries felt that one of them should push on up the river to the site of the old Varohio pueblo, the scene of the martyrdom of the two Chinipas pioneers. Pécoro being the more robust of the two gladly took this assignment. In late July he set out, fully prepared for whatever might come.

His first evening at the new site seemed destined to fulfill all his anticipations of martyrdom. When he arrived, he found the pueblo practically deserted and what was more ominous still, there were neither women nor children to be seen. Nevertheless, he built a little shelter and determined to pass the night. As darkness was falling he saw the men of the village approaching, silently and fully armed. Quietly they surrounded his little hut, though still some distance away. Several Christian Indians slipped in to acquaint him of the danger, an act of kindness, surely, but scarcely necessary, for by that time the padre was firmly convinced that he would spend his eternity in the ranks of the martyrs. He waited. The Varohios soon sat down in council, and the pipe began to go the rounds. This was not reassuring. Then the padre made a bold decision. He went out and sat down in their circle about the fire. Gently he chided them for delaying their reception until this late hour. He told them why he had come to them and assured them that, if his presence was so completely unwelcome as they seemed to consider it, he would go away and devote himself to other peoples who would be proud to have a padre in their midst. No one around the circle answered; no one made a move. More certain than ever that this night would be his last, Pécoro got up and turned back towards his hut to prepare for the sacrifice, offering his life to God for these poor children of darkness.

Morning came and the Indians were still there. But their attitude had changed. Shamefaced they apologized for the coldness of their reception of the preceding night and promised that, as soon as the harvest was gathered, they would come and settle permanently in this spot; then he might instruct and baptize them. The padre's courage had won their admiration.

If the first months were slow and anxious, once the ice was broken, the thaw was rapid. Mission stations multiplied rapidly. Father Juan Ortiz Zapata, who visited the sierra in 1678, while making the rounds of the northern missions in the capacity of official visitor, found seven in quite flourishing condition. His extensive report to the Provincial, Tomás Altamirano, gives some valuable information on the state of things.³⁹

Santa Inés de Chínipas had become a *cabecera*, the home of some one hundred and fifty-five families. Its five hundred and eighty souls were reported as well trained, punctual, and fervent in attending the exercises, and devoted towards the Mother of God. From Santa Inés Prado attended the Varohio pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, situated in a long deep *barranca*, some six leagues up the river. This was the site of Pécoro's anxious July evening two years before. A later account of the sierra country gives an interesting indication of what trouble it cost the missionary to attend this *visita*.⁴⁰ The river, so we were told, had to be forded twelve times between Santa Inés and Guadalupe. In times of high water eight of these crossings could be eliminated, but not without greater hazard, for the road over the summits was difficult in the extreme ("*muy largo, fragoso y peligroso*"). At the time of Zapata's visitation Guadalupe boasted of a population of about three hundred persons. In the whole *partido* there had been eight hundred and seventy baptisms by 1678.

Father Pécoro, after laying the foundations of another *partido* to the east, which included Santa Teresa de Guazáparis (ten leagues east of Santa Inés), Santa Magdalena de Témoris (three leagues to the south and east of Guazáparis), and Nuestra Señora de Valleumbroso (five leagues north of Guazáparis), had pushed on north some seventeen leagues and there among the high peaks had founded another Varohio center at Loreto. Lor-

³⁹ Relación de las misiones que la Compañía de Jesús tiene en el reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya en la Nueva España, hecho el año de 1678 con ocasión de visita general de ellas, que por orden del padre provincial Tomás Altamirano, hizo el padre visitador Juan Ortiz Zapata de misma Compañía, in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4a serie, III, 386-395.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

eto had Santa Ana as a *visita*. Pécoro was in charge here when Zapata paid his official call. The eastern *partido* of Santa Teresa was at the moment without a resident padre, though Zapata mentions Father Bautista Copart as having been selected to fill that post. There is no record of his having come at that time.

Two years later, in 1680, the *partido* of Santa Teresa had as its padre one of the great missionaries in the Jesuit annals of New Spain, Juan María de Salvatierra. Since his arrival in the kingdom a few years before, Salvatierra had completed his studies and had been teaching and preaching in the cities closer to the capital. He was anxious to undertake more strenuous tasks. Superiors very soon recognized in him a man of promise and saw no better place to utilize his evident enthusiasm than in the newly founded missions of the Sierra de Chínipas. And so he was assigned to that field of labor.⁴¹

Activity in the district had not been lacking during the four previous years, as the presence of seven mission pueblos and Zapata's report prove. But with Juan María's arrival, in June of 1680, things gathered new momentum.⁴² His presence made it possible to have a resident missionary in each of the three sierra *partidos*, Prado at Santa Inés, Pécoro at Loreto, Salvatierra at Santa Teresa. From the reports of Salvatierra's activities for the next few years one might well wonder if he was really in residence anywhere.

The neighboring nations to the east of Guazáparis evidenced a desire to receive the Gospel. Two years before their delegation had gone down to the Villa to ask for missionaries. The captain there, Don Pedro Hurtado de Castillo, had forwarded this information to the viceroy. Just how Salvatierra became involved in this subject is not clear, but Alegre tells us that the task of visiting these peoples was assigned to him.

At first he met opposition to carrying out this order from a quite unexpected quarter, from his own Guazáparis and Témoris. His neophytes did their best to discourage the zealous missionary. They were not sparing in their use of terrifying adjectives with which to describe the dangers of the way, the ferocity of the people, and a dozen other obstacles calculated to dissuade the padre from making the *entrada*. The fact of the matter was, as Salvatierra soon saw, they were not too anxious to see Chris-

⁴¹ Venegas, ch. 7-11.

⁴² Alegre, III, 25-27, 50-53, is the source for this period. Venegas also treats it, but inaccuracies in his work make one chary about relying too much on it.

tianity spread among their pagan neighbors, for thus a possible and convenient escape from mission discipline would be cut off, should the fancy seize them to slip away on occasion to indulge their former habits of license. Juan María called their bluff and told them that, if the people of Jerocaví were unwilling to receive the Gospel, he would leave Santa Teresa and return to Mexico. Fearing to lose their padre, the Guazáparis and Témoris quickly withdrew their opposition and did everything to further the padre's expedition to the east.

Towards the end of November, 1680, Salvatierra arrived in Jerocaví. He explained the purpose of his visit and before many days passed baptized a number of children and some seventy adults. This success fired his zeal the more and shortly he was off to visit the neighboring Husarones. He took them quite by storm and baptized the greater part of the nation. There, probably, a letter from his rector caught up with him. Father Pécoro, it would seem, was a bit anxious lest Salvatierra in his lack of experience might be proceeding a bit too fast in baptizing adults. And what was more, some of the nations with whom Salvatierra was in contact had "*mil veces*" turned a deaf ear to Pécoro's overtures, while the few individuals whom the latter had baptized had not remained faithful. Hence it was unwise to baptize on a wholesale scale until there were sufficient missionaries to care for the neophytes regularly. The signs of fervent faith surrounding him made Salvatierra feel as though the rector had perhaps not understood the whole case. On December 10 he wrote a letter giving his view of the situation,⁴³ yet he saw that, until he received other orders, obedience left him but one course, namely to return to his own *partido*. Amid the mutual regrets of the padre and his spiritual children he departed and early in 1681 was back in his mission of Santa Teresa de Guazáparis.

During the next years he expanded the early beginnings at Jerocaví into a regular *visita*, which was called San Javier, and made other contacts among his neighbors.⁴⁴ Then, shortly after the beginning of 1684, he received a summons to the capital. Appointments had come from Rome and Salvatierra was to be made a rector of one of the colleges. To ordinary ways of think-

⁴³ There is in Papeles de Jesuitas, No. 23, a letter from Anchieta to Salvatierra which would seem to be the answer to this December letter mentioned by Alegre. It is dated February 26, 1681, and gives permission to proceed with the *dichas conversiones*, while at the same time counseling close cooperation and frequent consultation with the veterans, Pécoro and Prado.

⁴⁴ Alegre, III, 50-53.

ing this appointment might seem an honor; but to Father Juan María it was nothing short of a catastrophe. It meant that he must give up all his cherished plans, his dear neophytes, his fun, for this sturdy Milanese to the end of his life found happiness and pleasure where hardships were greatest. One resort was left him. Thankful to Father Ignatius for making it possible for him to do so, he laid before the Provincial and his consultants the state of things in the sierra and begged to be spared to carry on in that field. He professed himself ready, however, to do as superiors would decide. His eloquence won out and he was permitted to return to the mission.

His mission needed his steadying influence over the Indians, for during his absence disaffected Tarahumares had been endeavoring to spread discontent among the sierra Christians. A Tarahumar malcontent, Corosia by name, had taken up his abode in the fastnesses near Cuteco. Salvatierra had been fostering in the Cutecos a desire for baptism. Consequently, on his return, when he learned of the presence of this Corosia in the vicinity, forgetting the fatigue of the long journey from the capital, he hastened over the five hard leagues to Cuteco. His zeal reaped its reward in the fifty baptisms which he administered among the eastern peoples on this occasion. And after this success he made the trip which he had planned before his hurried journey to Mexico. This was his thrilling, to him at least, descent into the great Barranca de Urique,⁴⁵ which, modern explorers assure us, need bow in nothing to the more advertised Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Sometime before Salvatierra had learned that there were some sick Christians living down in the great canyon. His charity would not let him rest until he had visited and consoled them. So one day in 1684 he set out from Jerocavi with the *gobernador* of the pueblo. The latter had told the padre they would be able to make the first three leagues of their journey on horseback, but beyond this distance the descent would have to be made on foot. Undaunted Salvatierra pushed on. Alegre has preserved a part of the padre's own description of the adventure, and we only hope that some day the whole may be discovered.

Such was my fright on seeing the nature of the terrain that very soon I asked my companion if it were time to dismount, and without waiting for his answer I slid off on the side opposite the precipice, perspiring profusely and trembling from head to foot. On my left was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

a yawning chasm whose bottom could not even be seen, while to the right there rose a sheer wall of stone. Before me was a descent of about four leagues at the very least, not gradual but rapid and precipitous in the extreme. The path was so narrow that more than once we had to jump from point to point.

From the top of the canyon one can see the whole province of Sinaloa, with this little island of heathendom surrounded by its missions and those of the Tepehuan and Tarahumar country. The canyon is very picturesque and much warmer than Sinaloa. A large river runs through it, the larger branch which forms the Zuaque [Fuerte]. This canyon stretches out for better than twenty leagues and they tell me that some ten leagues below the point at which I was this river is joined by a smaller one, which together with the Río de Chinipas becomes the Río Zuaque.

After much trouble then Salvatierra reached the sick Christians and cared for their souls, and, as best he could, also for their bodies. Among them he found and baptized two heathen Indians who were at death's door. Nor were the consolations of the journey yet exhausted. Hidden away in the *Barranca* the padre discovered a number of fugitives from the missions. These he persuaded by kindness to return to their pueblos. Here too he learned how the Tubares had threatened the canyon peoples with dire retribution if they ever received a padre among them and became Christians, or allowed Spaniards to penetrate into their lands. On gaining this knowledge Salvatierra firmly resolved to save his hosts any future trouble by winning the friendship of the Tubares.

The circumstances of the missionary's first contact with this Tubare nation are not too well known. Alegre,⁴⁰ after telling how the imprudent zeal of one of Bishop Escañuelas' priests had rendered these Indians violently hostile to the Christian name, says that Salvatierra was accompanied by some thirty or so of them, when he returned to his mission of Santa Teresa. Whether this was immediately following the descent into the *Barranca* de Urique or after a subsequent visit to the region is not clear. Alegre mentions a letter of October 24, 1684, in which Salvatierra asks permission to make an *entrada* into Tubare land, something which would seem to indicate a second trip. He must have been quite successful in his efforts to win them, for they do not figure among the rebels in the troubles which disturbed the frontier during the next years.

To go into the details of this so-called Tarahumar revolt

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

would take this present story too far afield. According to Alegre Corosia succeeded in gaining a few Chínipas (sic) to his side, and for a time Salvatierra's life was in danger.⁴⁷ But the Sierra de Chínipas as a whole remained staunchly, even belligerently loyal, thanks in large measure to Juan María's influence.⁴⁸ In 1690 he was named *visitador* of the missions of the northwest, an appointment which took him away from the Chínipas region. When he left the sierra his place was taken by Pedro Noriega, who carried on at Santa Teresa and followed up the work with the Tubares.⁴⁹ Salvatierra was back for a few days in 1697, before he left the mainland to begin the mission of Baja California. He found the Indians still well affected, despite the troubles which were raging over the mountains to the east. Four padres were caring for the sierra Christians at that time, the veteran Prado, assisted by Manuel Ordaz, Martín Benavides, and Antonio Gomar.⁵⁰

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, when all available forces were being used in the California venture, the Chínipas mission went through a period of decline, much like that which took place in the Sonora field after the death of the indomitable Kino. However, towards the middle of the century, with the influx of more and more missionaries from the central and northern European provinces, there was a new boom. The area became an independent rectorate with nine *partidos*, from Moris in the north to Nabogame in the south. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, in 1767, there were twelve padres in the sierra.⁵¹

JOHN F. BANNON

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 70-72; Venegas, ch. 14.

⁴⁹ Alegre, III, 72.

⁵⁰ Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 250.

⁵¹ Zelis, Rafael, *Catálogo de los sujetos de la Compañía de Jesús que formaban la provincia de México el día del arresto, 25 de junio de 1767*, Mexico, 1871, 133.

Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680

I. THE BOOKS AND THEORIES

Louis Hennepin arrived at Quebec, New France, in 1675 with La Salle. As a Recollect and priest he practiced his calling around Quebec until La Salle's men went to Niagara Falls to build the *Griffon* in 1678. In the following spring, when the famed first sailing craft put out on its brief career toward the west, Hennepin accompanied the expedition to Michilimackinac. From this point he went south with La Salle to the Illinois country. At the end of February, 1680, Hennepin, leaving Fort Crevecoeur and La Salle, journeyed down the Illinois River to its junction with the Mississippi. From this confluence, did he continue southward down the Mississippi to its mouth and then return north, or did he turn northward without detouring? Some weeks later he was captured by the Sioux along the higher part of the river. After his release, he returned to Europe in 1681, at the time his former sponsor, La Salle, was undertaking his exploration of the Mississippi. Residing in Holland and Paris Hennepin wrote three books about his days in the great valley.

These works of the traveler returned from his travels became very popular. The *Description of Louisiana*, first published in 1683, soon was in its third edition, and Italian, Dutch, and German translations appeared. Shea brought it out in English in 1880, and last year another English translation was published.¹ Even greater was the success of the *New Discovery*: seven French editions, four Dutch, a German translation, and a Spanish abridgement, followed the initial publication of 1697. Hennepin's third book, *New Voyage*, although not as popular as its predecessor, went through three French, one Dutch, and two German editions. The *New Discovery* and the *New Voyage* were issued in two separate editions in English during the year 1698; these were the *Bon-* and *Tonson* editions; the latter was reprinted by Thwaites in 1903. Moreover, a composite English edition also appeared in London in 1699. The literature about Hennepin and his books is so extensive that he has become one

¹ *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, translated by Marion E. Cross, Minneapolis, 1938.

of the most discussed of the writers of the Mississippi Valley.²

The popular and political interest in the books gave way in later years to scholarly interest. Comparisons were made between Hennepin's accounts and those of others, and attention was drawn to conflicting statements written by himself in the different works about the same event. Sparks, in 1844, in his *Life of La Salle* pointed out the parallelism between Hennepin's narrative of his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, as recounted in the *New Discovery*, and the account of La Salle's 1682 expedition, as given in Le Clercq. From then until Parkman Hennepin was regarded as a falsifier, and in 1850 Shea doubted if he had ever seen even the upper part of the river.³ Thirty years later, perhaps "to make amends for his early mistrust,"⁴ Shea advanced the interpolation theory, for he believed that a priest and friar could not have written certain passages in the *New Discovery* and certainly not the story of the voyage down the Mississippi. Shea's theory was that some jobber or ghost writer had dubbed in citations from Le Clercq in publishing the *New Discovery*. Thwaites pointed out how the same evil influence, then, must have presided over the *New Voyage*, wherein there is constant reference to the southern journey of 1680.

Shea's hypothesis met with no great success. "Hennepin was quite capable of writing, it is to be feared, much that one would not suppose him to write."⁵ Shea argued from the peculiar typographical appearance of the *New Discovery*, the well known ten star pages, which "were not set up in the same office, or at least at the same time, with those which are not questioned."⁶ But the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, the most questionable part of the *New Discovery*, is described some seventy pages earlier in the book. The whole interpolation argument was disposed of by Mr. Paltsits, who said: "The volume has evident traces of

² The most reliable bibliographical information on Father Hennepin for the three works dealing with the missionary's activities in America is V. H. Paltsits, "Bibliographical Data," in Thwaites' edition of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, by Father Louis Hennepin*, Chicago, 1903, I, xlv-lxiv. Mr. Paltsits did not include Hennepin's book *La Morale Pratique du Jansénisme*, published in Utrecht in 1698. On this latter work, cf. Hugolin Lemay, "Etude bibliographique et historique sur la Morale pratique du jansénisme du P. Louis Hennepin, récollet," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXXI, 1937, section 1, 127-149; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin, récollet, et les 'Observations' de Pierre Code. . . ." in *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 6-9.

³ J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852, 105-106.

⁴ Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, Boston and New York, 1894, 284.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

having been built up while in press.' The author's 'Avis au Lecteur' and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally.⁷ Paltsits is an expert bibliographer; his examination of the text was thorough, his conclusion clear. Father Lemay, an authority on Hennepin, confirms these findings.⁸ Hennepin was in Utrecht while his book was being printed, and he was not of a character to allow any editor to make him say what he never intended to say. Yet Hennepin remained silent about the alleged interpolations, and more, stoutly answered the imputation of untruthfulness, and precisely with regard to the voyage of 1680. This defense was put by Hennepin in the preface to *New Voyage* published the following year.

A further attempt to prove Hennepin's voyage a reality was made in 1925 by Father Jérôme Goyens, and it was answered by the late Abbé H. A. Scott.¹⁰ Later Father Lemay entered the lists to defend Hennepin and his apologist. He published a book in 1937 containing all passages in contemporary documents, written by or about Hennepin. This was the first of a projected three volume work on the Recollect.¹¹ The plan will not likely be carried out, for Father Lemay died in Montreal shortly after the first part was published. Father Lemay was above all a bibliographer, and during thirty years produced many bibliographical studies, the majority dealing with the literary activity of the Franciscans in Canada. But he was also an historian, as his articles, especially in *Nos Cahiers*, attest. In this review published by the Canadian Franciscans, Lemay has seven studies from 1936 to 1938 on Hennepin.¹² Although they make absorbing read-

⁷ Cf. Scott's theory, *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, Lévis, 1930, 130-131.

⁸ *A New Discovery*, Thwaites' edition, I, lli-liv.

⁹ Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin, récollet. Les Pièces documentaires*, Montreal, 1937, 50, 56, 66, especially 74-76; *id.*, "Le Père L. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 66.

¹⁰ Jérôme Goyens, "Le Père Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., Missionnaire au Canada au XVII^e siècle. Quelques jalons pour sa biographie," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XVIII, 1925, 318-345, 473-510. This was mainly an apology for the Recollect on general grounds, and an indictment of all who dared question his voyage. Some data about the Hennepin family were added to what was already known. Very noticeable is the lack of critical spirit and of knowledge of North American geography.

What Scott, the Canadian critic, thought of Hennepin and his apologist is sufficiently indicated by the title of the rebuttal: "Un coup d'épée dans l'eau, ou une nouvelle apologie du P. Louis Hennepin," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXI, 1927, section 1, 113-160; published as a part of *Nos Anciens Historiographes et autres études d'Histoire Canadienne*, Lévis, 1930, under the title: "Que faut-il penser du P. Hennepin et de son nouvel apologiste?" 77-147. The references are to the latter.

¹¹ Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, vii.

¹² His articles in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, in *Proceed-*

ing and give a better knowledge of Hennepin, they do not essentially change one's opinion as formed from reading Hennepin's three works, and furthermore the questions treated in these studies fall outside the scope of this article. Here we are concerned with the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. The rest only shows that the missionary had some good qualities, an undeniable fact.

Now Goyens' case is thus: Hennepin wrote *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*.¹³ Shea vindicated his memory in 1880. "With Shea we demand [nous réclamons] that the suit still pending be revised in the light of ancient and modern documents."¹⁴ "Once for all the data furnished by Hennepin will have to be compared with the official United States Survey up and down the Mississippi."¹⁵ This present article intends to make the suggested comparison in later pages. As for the other points above, contrary to the gratuitous assertion of Goyens,¹⁶ Shea did not vindicate Hennepin. He speaks of the "pretended" voyage,¹⁷ and tries to excuse Hennepin on the ground that Hennepin did not write it up exclusively in *New Discovery*. But Goyens attributes the authorship of *New Discovery* and *New Voyage* to Hennepin, and hence makes Hennepin's own words the deciding factors. Hennepin's truthfulness stands or falls with the reality of the 1680 voyage.

Parkman, according to Goyens, refused to believe that Hennepin made the voyage, because Hennepin made the trip in forty-one days while La Salle required two months and a half. Such an argument, we are told, is of no value whatever, because La Salle was in no hurry, whereas Hennepin was. As a matter of fact, Hennepin does not say forty-one days, but thirty.

It is truly regrettable that Father Lemay did not treat the question as he had promised in his last article, which was pub-

ings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, but especially in *Nos Cahiers*, were always worthy of note. The seven studies mentioned pertain to Hennepin's life after his return to Europe in 1681. All questions regarding his activities are treated in the most thorough manner. With regard to the Recollect's sojourn in Utrecht, Father Lemay made use of a very little known work, *La Morale Pratique du Jansénisme*, published by Hennepin at Utrecht in 1698 (see *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 7). He used also the manuscript correspondence of the vicar apostolic in Holland, which he found in the Archives of the Old Catholics at The Hague. Hennepin remained the same character after his return, pugnacious, vocal, standing for his rights, and never so happy as when talking of himself.

¹³ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 481.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 473.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 504.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 497.

¹⁷ Cf. *The Description of Louisiana*, New York, 1880, Introduction, 6.

lished after his death.¹⁸ He promised studies, one *contra* and one *pro*, on the essential question, Did Hennepin go down the Mississippi? He mentioned unpublished documents to be brought forth, but what they are is unknown at present. His last published article was intended to clear the ground, and "help the reader later to take his stand in the question of the descent of the Mississippi." It seems that this question should have been treated immediately, since it is, as he said, essential. The others are secondary or irrelevant mostly, as far as the voyage itself is concerned. Lemay had evidently made up his mind on the question but wished first to review what others had said. It is to be doubted that he would have delayed publishing documents which overthrew the common belief that no voyage took place. In 1933 he wrote that Goyens, "does not disprove the accredited opinion according to which the honor of having gone down the Mississippi before La Salle, does not belong to Hennepin."¹⁹ In early 1937 he wrote: "The question of the descent of the Mississippi by Father Hennepin will be frankly treated when the time comes."²⁰ Why Lemay thus deferred judgment is a mystery. Assuredly, it is rash to pass judgment until all documents have been analyzed, but in the case of the voyage of 1680, it is very difficult to understand what change any unpublished documents would make in Hennepin's statements in *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*.

Lemay, it seems clear from his last volume and article, was not prepared to look upon the voyage as mythical. It would scarcely be misreading his mind to say he was about to base his opinion on the study of the chronology in Hennepin's works, as suggested by Goyens,²¹ for he had written:

Father Hennepin . . . is exact with regard to facts and persons, but so imprecise when it is question of dates and length of time, that one is justified in looking upon this deficiency as pathological. This well known and habitual inaccuracy is worth while studying closely. I shall do it elsewhere.²²

Father Lemay died before he could study Hennepin's chronol-

¹⁸ "Le Père Louis Hennepin devant l'histoire," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 245.

¹⁹ "Bibliographie des travaux édités en Europe sur les Récollets du Canada," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXVIII, 1933, section 1, 106.

²⁰ "Les Récollets et Cavellier de la Salle," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XLIII, 1937, 191.

²¹ Goyens, 486, note 6, wrote that he was then, in 1925, preparing a monograph on Hennepin's chronology.

²² *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 46, cf. 88.

ogy, but of what avail would it have been to study details of time when Hennepin has emphatically stated that he went from the mouth of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi and back to the mouth of the Wisconsin by canoe in thirty days? Perhaps, however, Lemay would choose a second procedure. He holds to a journal theory. Hennepin's story is this: In 1681, when he arrived in Quebec from the west, he gave his journal to Father Leroux; Leroux had time to copy it before Hennepin's departure for France; Leroux gave this copy to Le Clercq, who embodied it in his *First Establishment of the Faith* as Membré's narrative of La Salle's expedition. This is substantially the opinion of Lemay also.²³ If this is so, how will the following difficulty be explained: Hennepin edited his own journal and published it, thereby making his own what are clearly false statements interpolated in Le Clercq by someone who had never seen the Mississippi and who had never been in America. Such an argument would double the deceit of Hennepin. If Hennepin gave anything to Leroux, and possibly he did give his notes of his journey to the north, he was, absolutely speaking, telling the truth, but only in so far as he gave some notes.²⁴

The journal supposedly given by Hennepin to Leroux loomed large in the mind of Lemay. Hennepin, in trouble with his superiors, received the permission to leave France for the Low Countries, then Spanish territory. This, according to Lemay, took place either in or about 1691,

²³ In the *New Discovery* Hennepin said that at the mouth of the Mississippi he wrote a letter containing the narrative of his voyage to the Gulf and attached it to a cross. Father Lemay enters this letter thus in his bibliography: [1680] ? *Lettre que le P. Hennepin aurait rédigée sur sa découverte des bouches du Mississippi*. Except for the sake of completeness, and in order to list all that was written or supposedly written by Hennepin, it is difficult to see why this "letter" should have been entered, unless, of course, one holds that the missionary actually went to the mouth of the Mississippi. Again, three pages further: [1681] *Journal de voyage du P. Hennepin, copié à Québec, en 1681, par le commissaire des Récollets, le père Valentin Leroux*. There is no longer any question mark as in the previous entry. A conditional tense weakens somewhat the implication of the comments added, but it is nullified in the sentences: "So that Father Le Clercq . . . would have [aurait] made use of this manuscript in the second volume of *The First Establishment of the Faith* attributing it wholly or in part to Father Zénobe Membré. . . . I did not consider the hypothesis of a double journal, the first by Father Hennepin, the second by Father Membré. Ultimately truth might perhaps be there" (*Ibid.*, 14).

²⁴ The Recollect had peculiar ideas of straightforwardness. For instance he answered some "calumnies" caused by the publication of the *New Discovery* by producing in the preface of the *New Voyage*, his major superiors' approbation of the *Description of Louisiana*. Did Hennepin really think that the commendation of the *Description* held good for the *New Discovery*?

perhaps it is well to remember that in 1691 Father Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith* was published. Later Hennepin will assert that the narrative of the descent of the Mississippi in the second volume of this work, allegedly [written] after the journal of Father Membré, was in reality a plagiarism of his own journal copied in Quebec in 1681 by Father Valentin Leroux. Had Hennepin as early as 1691 expressed the same pretensions *viva voce*? He was certainly the man to shout "thief!" if there had been a theft. Perhaps he was sent out to shout outside of France. [In saying this] I have no other aim than to formulate a hypothesis, which is far from being absurd considering the *New Discovery*.²⁵

Indeed, the hypothesis is not absurd at all if one postulates two things—that Hennepin went down the Mississippi and that he gave a journal of this voyage to Father Leroux. Why did Hennepin wait six years before shouting "thief?" He could have shouted to his heart's content in Spanish territory. Perhaps it will be said that he had not the means to publish his book. But when he had the means, in 1697, Hennepin does not give his protests against the plagiarism of Le Clercq as the reason for his being expedited to Spanish territory. And if Hennepin for a moment thought his complaints were the reason for his superior's opposition, he would have been prompt to speak out.

There is no need to consider further what approach Lemay might have taken, in view of several opinions he has expressed. Thus he wrote: "In fact the *Description of Louisiana* passes over in silence the descent of the Mississippi."²⁶ This is putting the matter very mildly. The *Description* is not only not silent with regard to the voyage to the Gulf, but Hennepin clearly states that he had the intention of going down the river, but was prevented from exploring the Mississippi, because he was taken prisoner by the Sioux.²⁷ Now in *New Discovery*, Hennepin affirms that he went down as far as the mouth of the river. These two statements about one and the same fact cannot both be true. Furthermore, in the *Description*, Hennepin tells how when he was at table with Frontenac, he gave the governor "an exact account of my voyage and showed him the advantage of our discovery."²⁸ In the *New Discovery*, he narrates quite differently this same interview with Frontenac: "I had enough self restraint to keep the secret of the whole discovery which we had made of

²⁵ *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 44.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁷ Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 218.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

the Mississippi river."²⁹ "I believe it is legitimate to admit that our Recollect is here making use of a mental reservation," wrote Lemay with regard to the latter contradiction.³⁰ There is another term for such obvious contradictions, and these two contradictions are of the same type.

What were contemporaries thinking? "Implicitly, Father Leclercq does not acknowledge the descent of the Mississippi."³¹ When Le Clercq wrote, Hennepin had not yet revealed the "mystery" of 1680.³² The supposition behind this statement is clear—Le Clercq had the journal of Hennepin describing the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, a journal given him by Leroux, and yet he did not believe in such a voyage. Other men beside Le Clercq disbelieved in the southern journey, after Hennepin had made it public in 1697. Writing from Fort Mississippi three years after the publication of the *New Discovery*, Tonty wrote to his brother:

I do not know how Father Louis Hennepin has the boldness to lie so impudently in his relation. He was insupportable to the late M. de la Salle and to all of M. de la Salle's men.³³ He sent the Recollect to the Sioux as to get rid of him. He was taken [prisoner] on the way by these Indians with Michel Accault and Pierre Dugué [Auguelle]. Afterwards the three of them were freed from servitude by M. Duluth who was passing through that country and brought back by Duluth to Canada. How can a man have the front to write that he went down to the sea? Accault who is married in the Illinois country and who is still alive is able to prove the contrary to him. I think that Pierre Dugué is in France.³⁴

²⁹ Hennepin, *Nouvelle découverte*, Utrecht, 1698, 473.

³⁰ "Le Père Hennepin à Paris en 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 109, note 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

³² *Nouvelle découverte*, 248.

³³ La Salle and his men were not the only ones who could not bear Hennepin. For several years the Recollects had wished to have a house in Montreal. In 1681, before Hennepin's return to France, it seemed as though a Recollect convent was about to be opened in Montreal. Dollier de Casson, then superior of the Sulpicians, wrote to the Commissary of the Recollects in Quebec, Father Leroux—the same to whom Hennepin had given his "journal"—"In the name of the Lord, for the sake of our union in Montreal, [send] no Father Louis [Hennepin], I beg of you!" Dollier de Casson to Leroux, October 29, 1681, printed in Le Tac, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1888, 215. Cf. the letters of Dudouyt to Laval, in *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 16 ff.

³⁴ Tonty to his brother, March 4, 1700, Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 115-10:n. 14, copy in the handwriting of Delisle, printed in Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 184. This Delisle extract from Tonty's letter was copied with many changes and omissions by the Augustinian Father Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Mss. fr., 9097:105-107; the paragraph on Hennepin is omitted.

This disposes of an argument of Goyens who says that Hennepin's two companions never denied having accompanied the Recollect to the mouth of the Mississippi. Father Goyens adds that Dugué was in Paris at the same time with Father Hennepin, which is true if the *Description of Louisiana* is meant. Hennepin and Dugué were not together in Paris after the publication of the *New Discovery*. Dugué had not to contradict anything in 1683, for the *Description* distinctly states that they did *not* go down the river. In 1698, it is not known whether Dugué was still alive. Tonty "thought" that Hennepin's companion was in France. "Michel Accault married an Illinois squaw in the mission of the Jesuits. These would certainly have detected the pretended fraud of Hennepin. Here are some considerations which certain modern writers should not lose sight of when they accuse without proofs the author of the *New Discovery* of plagiarism."³⁵

The Jesuits did detect the fraud of Hennepin. A few months after Tonty wrote to his brother the Jesuit Gravier wrote from the same place as follows:

However, no ship can enter the Mississippi River if she draws more than 9 or 10 feet of water, for there are only eleven at its mouth. The entrance once passed, there is not a ship that cannot sail a long distance up the river. There are from 15 to 16 brasses of water here [at Fort Mississippi, 45 miles from the mouth]; most of the store-ships, which drew only 9 feet, could go far up, for the English ship which Monsieur d'Iberville found last year 8 leagues from here drew still less water. The Captain had for his guidance Monsieur de la Salle's relation, and some other very incorrect memoirs that mention the mouth of the river. That Englishman, who was talking about it to Monsieur de Bienville, congratulated himself upon having found the entrance to the Mississippi. One of those who have written of it is an apostate, who presented to King William the Relation of the Mississippi, whither he never went; and, after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous boasts, he pretends to establish the first claims and the incontestable right of King William to the Mississippi, etc.

He depicts in his relation Monsieur de la Salle wounded, with two balls in his head, turning to Father Anastasius, a Recollect, to ask for absolution—(which he certainly would not have had time to do), for he was killed outright, without saying a word,—and other similar false statements.³⁶

"The passage is unfortunate," wrote Lemay about Gravier's letter, "one must correct it."³⁷ Father Gravier summarily disposes

³⁵ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 478-479.

³⁶ *The Jesuit Relations*, 65, 171.

³⁷ Unhappily, Hennepin's apologists are annoyed at the mention of the

of the documentary value of Father Hennepin's *New Discovery* with regard to the Mississippi. We shall let this pass. The question is too complex to be discussed here. It will be done in a special study."²⁸ Gravier who had seen the mouth of the Mississippi, who had seen the delta, who did go down the river, realized how different, how much longer the river was than Hennepin's fanciful account made it. Moreover, Gravier was at Fort Mississippi, where he had heard men who had not only gone down but who had also ascended the stream. Gravier were blind did he not realize how absolutely fantastic were the data furnished by Hennepin. The question is not as complex as it is said to be. All there is need of is the text of the *New Discovery*, a map of the Mississippi River, the official distances between the places where Hennepin claims to have stopped, as well as the time, given by Hennepin himself in the *New Discovery*, the voyageur said it took him to cover these distances up and down stream.

"There is enough objectionable matter in the other statements of the Jesuit. Father Gravier looks upon Father Hennepin as an apostate. I think he is the first one to start this stupid calumny which has since gone a long way."²⁹ It is hardly to be expected that Gravier should look upon Hennepin in any other way. How could a Catholic, let alone a priest, avoid this conclusion after reading the preface to the *New Discovery* and the

Recollect's voyage by a Jesuit. Goyens took Rochemonteix to task for having merely repeated what writers had said who knew Hennepin much better than Goyens, and who were definitely better versed in the geography and the history of New France than the champion of Hennepin. Again Goyens seems to have lost his self control after reading that Charlevoix had dared to chuckle over the antics of a new Bayard, ("... Le P. Hennepin, sans peur et sans reproche . . ." Goyens, 327). This is a peculiar state of affairs. Assuredly, a writer who refutes falsehoods is breaking no laws; Hennepin in this instance was acting as an individual and was bringing discredit upon himself and not upon other Franciscans nor upon the great Order out of which have come legions of heroes, scholars, and saints. The Order will not fall, if a Hennepin here and there falsifies a document. Even Father Lemay indulged in such unwarranted generalizations, as is seen in his comments on the passage of Gravier's letter, given below, and he repeated these generalizations in a subsequent article on Hennepin (*Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 127). Hennepin had not the slightest scruple in maligning not an individual Jesuit, but all of them. In this attempt to involve religious orders in a dispute he was unjust and uncharitable. In the case of "our great Hennepin," as Goyens calls his confrere (Goyens, 482), what objection can there be to examining his writings, when one finds the Recollect whose pages literally teem with fictitious inventions questioning the credibility of the *Jesuit Relations*? Hennepin judged other people's veracity by his own. To put the matter colloquially, the good Father had the Jesuits "on the brain" (Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1913, 161 ff.).

²⁸ *Bibliographie*, 194.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

fullsome letter to His Most Heretical Majesty of Great Britain? Others beside Gravier—who had certainly not seen the Jesuit's private letter—thought and said that Hennepin had apostatized.

That good Religious Man, whom many have falsely thought, on Account of that Extravagancy [dedication of the *New Discovery* to William III of England] (to have apostatized, never thought of it). And consequently has scandaliz'd the Catholics, and furnished the *Huguenots* with matter of Laughter; for is it likely, that they being Enemies of the *Roman Church*, would employ *Recolets* to preach up *Popery*, as they call it, in Canada? Or would they introduce any other Religion than their own? Can Father Hennepin be excuseable in this Point?⁴⁰

We know now, and in 1713, De Michel knew that Hennepin had not apostatized; but in 1701, near the mouth of the Mississippi, a Frenchman who had read the preface of a Catholic priest to the Protestant King of England, could hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that Hennepin had "turned his coat."

For the rest, if Father Gravier at all read the *New Voyage* of the Recollect, he certainly skimmed through it without understanding what it says. He did not even notice that Father Hennepin expressly states that in his narrative of the events in connection with the death of La Salle, he merely repeats what Father Anastasius Douay said. Now Father Douay is the only eye-witness of the murder of La Salle and his account the sole recital of an eye-witness. Just as Father Hennepin who reproduces him almost literally, Father Douay states that of the two shots fired on La Salle, one missed the explorer and the other—only one—hit his head. And if somebody knows that the victim lived more than an hour after being hit—which is not in the least extraordinary—it is Father Douay and not Father Gravier. The latter speaks very thoughtlessly, and it is clear that he did not like the Recollects any more than he liked La Salle.⁴¹

This is very amusing. In connection with the death of La Salle, if somebody spoke "very thoughtlessly" it is assuredly not Father Gravier, but Father Lemay, who should have criticized his sources before making such a statement. Douay is not the only eye-witness of the death of the explorer, nor is his the only account of the murder. There is that of L'Archevesque,⁴² which,

⁴⁰ Joutel, *Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe de Mexique. . . .*, Par Monsieur Joutel, l'un des Compagnons de ce Voyage, rédigé & mis en ordre par M. De Michel, Paris, 1713, 364-365, translation from the 1719 London edition, 185, except for the words in parentheses, the translation of which has been revised.

⁴¹ *Bibliographie*, 194.

⁴² ASH, 115-9:n. 13, Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Fran-*

it seems remained unknown to Father Lemay.⁴³ What is in Le Clercq is not Douay's account, but a pseudo-Douay. The real narrative of this Recollect is in Joutel, where Father Anastasius states what Gravier says, namely, that La Salle was killed outright without having time to say even one word.⁴⁴

II. THE VOYAGE

The Descent

It seems fair in examining Hennepin's voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi to take the data from his account, the *New Discovery*.⁴⁵ To check distances there now exists an accurate, absolutely trustworthy standard, the United States official survey of the river.⁴⁶ There may be a difference of a few miles between the mouth of the Illinois River and that of the Mississippi, owing to the rubbing out of some bends, but no one can cavil if we take, in round numbers, 1,300 miles from Grafton, Illinois, to the South Pass or to the South West Pass, when the actual distance of the stream is 1,314 and 1,320 miles respectively.

In the seventeenth century, explorers going down the Mississippi were satisfied with making a rough guess of the distance traveled in a day. Thus Tonty gave for the distance between the mouth of the Illinois and the Gulf along the Mississippi, 372 and 374 leagues, or 1,004 and 1,009 miles,⁴⁷ and in another memoir, 400 leagues, or 1,080 miles.⁴⁸ The difference of 200 or 300 miles from the actual distance is far from being enormous. When the

çais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 6 vols., Paris, 1886-1888, III, 330-331, hereinafter referred to as Margry.

⁴³ Cf. Lemay, "L'assassinat de Cavellier de la Salle," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XLIII, 1937, 147.

⁴⁴ For the value of various versions of the death of La Salle, cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavellier*, Chicago, 1938, 149-153.

⁴⁵ Unless otherwise specified the references are to the first French edition, *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand Pays*, Utrecht, 1697, hereinafter quoted as ND. Similarly references to the *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1693, and the *Nouveau Voyage*, Utrecht, 1698, will be given as DL., and NV., respectively. The text of Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, with which that of the ND. is to be compared is that of the first edition, Paris, 1691.

⁴⁶ *Transportation in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys* prepared by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, War Department, and the Bureau of Operations, United States Shipping Board, Washington, D. C., 1929.

⁴⁷ Margry, I, 615-616.

⁴⁸ Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 20. The relation in Thomassy, *Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1860, 15, and Le Clercq, II, 238, have 350 leagues. Cf. the comparative tables of distance by Iberville, Margry, IV, 180-181. Throughout this article the length of the French league is taken as equal to 2.7 miles.

mileage of the United States Survey is compared with that given by "navigators" of the early nineteenth century,⁴⁹ it is easy to understand why in the seventeenth century, explorers, traders, and missionaries canoeing up and down the river found it difficult, if not impossible, to come to a closer approximation. Nevertheless, whatever the mistake in reckoning, if one went down the stream one went the actual distance.

In Hennepin's case the distance he says he traveled in a month must be doubled to include the trip down and up. This gives 2,600 miles from the mouth of the Illinois River to the sea and return, plus some 400 miles to near the mouth of the Wisconsin, where he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, a total of 3,000 miles, 1,700 of which had to be traveled upstream when the Mississippi was at flood stage. For the time of the journey, the *New Discovery* gives two extreme dates, March 8 and April 24, or 47 days, an average of nearly 65 miles a day. But they did not travel every day. The descent of the Mississippi from the Illinois settlements to New Orleans, 1,100 miles, could be accomplished at that time of the year in from 12 to 20 days. If we suppose that he made a record trip going downstream, Hennepin would still have to go from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the Wisconsin in 24 days. The latter date, however, April 24, cannot be accepted for reasons that will be given later.

Hennepin began his odyssey when he left Fort Crevecoeur, February 28 at night, or February 29, 1680.⁵⁰ Following the *Description*, he reached the mouth of the Illinois River, March 8.⁵¹ The descent of the Illinois in a week agrees with what is known from elsewhere, it did not take longer when one floated down leisurely. It may be noted here that it took Hennepin less than half as long to cover the distance, 50 leagues, 135 miles, actual distance, 160 miles, as it took him to cover the 1,300 miles to the sea, and only one more day—9 days—to paddle upstream the 1,700 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wisconsin. When he reached the Mississippi, ice was still floating down, and, according to the *Description*, Hennepin with his two companions, Michel Accault and Pierre Auguelle, called the Picard du Guay,

⁴⁹ *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1808; *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1818; *The Western Pilot*, Cincinnati, 1841.

⁵⁰ DL., 188, ND., 241, and La Salle's letter of 1680, Margry, II, 55, have February 29; the deposition of Hillaret, Margry, II, 109, February 28; La Salle's letter of 1681, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246, February 28, in the evening. Bernou's *Relation des découvertes*, Margry, I, 478, February 29, in the evening.

⁵¹ DL., 192, cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

or Dugué, waited four days, until March 12, before starting northward, to the Sioux country where he had been sent by La Salle.⁵² These statements are repeated almost to a word in the *New Discovery*,⁵³ but in the latter work, a few pages below, Hennepin asserts that he did not wait four days, instead he proceeded immediately *southward*.⁵⁴

The mouth of the Illinois River, he says in the *Description*, lies between the 36° and the 37° latitude, "*et par consequent*, there are between 120 and 130 leagues to the Gulf of Mexico,"⁵⁵ that is, between 325 and 350 miles in a straight line. The same spot is given in the *New Discovery* as situated between the 35° and 36°, with the *same* distance to the Gulf, but he adds, this distance does not include the windings of the river.⁵⁶ This distance is a first indication that Hennepin never went down the Mississippi. The coordinates of the *Description* are not his, but Bernou's, who learnedly "touched up" Hennepin's manuscript. Hennepin left to his own devices in 1697, "retouched" the coordinates. Although the distance from the Illinois River to the Gulf in the *New Discovery* after the "correction" should be shorter from 1 to 120 miles—in a straight line—Hennepin left the distance exactly the same. His juggling was just beginning.

The theory that Bernou "edited" at least a part of the *Description of Louisiana* was proposed ten years ago by de Villiers. He wrote:

How could he [Hennepin] have known, for instance, the last conceptions of La Salle with regard to the course of the Ohio? How could he have drawn the map, have known the new names which the geographers intended to inflict on the Canadian Lakes and have known that it was the right thing to do to pay a discreet tribute to the influential Bellinzani whose protection La Salle was to buy very secretly? Only a very intimate friend of the explorer could be so well acquainted with his personal affairs.⁵⁷

This is not the place to examine de Villiers' theory. The circumstances of the publication of the *Description*, the analysis of the text, the comparison between Bernou's writings and what is found in Hennepin's first book, all points to the fact that one

⁵² DL., 193, cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181v., Margry, II, 248.

⁵³ ND., 246.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁵⁵ DL., 193.

⁵⁶ ND., 245.

⁵⁷ *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives*, Paris, 1929, 10.

day de Villiers' hypothesis will prove to be an ascertained fact. Bernou was an intimate friend of La Salle. When Hennepin was in Paris "writing" his *Description*, the abbé had a letter of the explorer in which the latitude of the Illinois River is given. La Salle had written about the Illinois:

The river flows almost due south, so that its mouth lies between the 46° and 47° latitude, *et partant* at about 120 or 130 leagues from the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico.⁵⁸

No addressee is found in this autograph letter of La Salle. It is surmised that it was sent to Bernou. Whether it was addressed to the abbé or not, he had it in 1682.⁵⁹ Intensely interested in the cartography of New France, Bernou culled the geographical details contained in La Salle's letter. With regard to the latitude of the Illinois River, the wording in the *Description* is not as in La Salle's letter but as in Bernou's extract:

The mouth of the Teatiki [Illinois River] is 50 leagues from Crevecoeur and 90 [100 in the *Description*] leagues from the village of the Illinois. This mouth lies between the 36° and 37°, *et par consequent* 120 or 130 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico.⁶⁰

In these 120 or 130 leagues to the Gulf of Mexico, says Hennepin, "I do not include the windings which the great Mississippi River may make down to the sea." A few pages further, the Illinois disembogues in the Mississippi between the 36° and 33° latitude, "as it so appeared to me according to the observation I made when I passed by, although it is generally placed at the 38°. Those who will make the voyage after me will have more time than I had to take the correct measurements."⁶¹ The "36° and 33° latitude" is evidently a misprint for 36° and 37°, which was what La Salle thought in 1681, and which was embodied by

⁵⁸ BN, Clairambault, 1016:181 v, Margry, 248, this is an autograph letter of La Salle, written not in 1682, but in 1681, some parts of it have been erased by Bernou, but this sentence occurs before the erasure, cf. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 172.

⁵⁹ The proof that Bernou had this letter of La Salle on time to insert the latitude of the mouth of the Illinois in the *Description of Louisiana* is found in an autograph memoir of the abbé written in 1682: "Everybody admits that below the mouth of the Seignelay or Illinois River, situated between 36° and 37° latitude, the Colbert River continues to flow southward. . . ." BN, Clairambault, 1016:192, Margry, II, 284. Margry's theory that Hennepin plagiarized Bernou's relation is not hereby confirmed, cf. Jean Delanglez *The Journal of Jean Caveller*, Chicago, 1938, 138, note 25, but Bernou after helping Hennepin used the *Description of Louisiana* and La Salle's letters to write his own *Relation des découvertes*.

⁶⁰ BN, Clairambault, 1016:642.

⁶¹ ND., 250.

Bernou in the *Description*. When Hennepin wrote his *New Discovery* in 1697, he had the book of Le Clercq before him, where the latitude as 38° is given,⁶² and the same latitude for the mouth of the Illinois is given by Marquette, whose account Hennepin also knew.

Hennepin surely had enough time to make some measurements, had he but known how. He stayed four days at the mouth of the Illinois. The latitude 38° , given by Marquette and Le Clercq, is also faulty. The mouth of the Illinois lies on the 39° minus a few minutes. While such an error of computation with the rudimentary means at their disposal was very common in those days, the distance "in a straight line" is not 5 degrees—the 120 to 130 leagues—but 10 degrees, the mouth of the Mississippi is only a few minutes above the 29th parallel. This distance, it must be remembered in degrees between the mouths of the two rivers, was given by La Salle *before* he went down the Mississippi; *after* 1682, we no longer hear him speak of 120 to 130 leagues in a straight line. The explorer then gives the real distance, from the 38° to between the 27° and 28° . The 27° latitude will be given by Hennepin as that of the mouth of the Mississippi, but it never dawned on him there was something peculiar about the distance "in a straight line"—the 120 to 130 leagues—remaining the same, although the number of degrees should be doubled. His jumble of latitudes clearly shows his inability to compute this coordinate. Anyone, no matter how poor an observer, who had made the journey, could not possibly have made such an egregious blunder.

In Utrecht, Hennepin "plotting" his journey down to the Gulf with the *Description of Louisiana* and the *First Establishment of the Faith* before his eyes, soon saw the futility of spending four days at the mouth of the Illinois, and, in spite of his having said a page or two before that he left on the 12th, he now asserted that he embarked for the south on the 8th, the ice drifting down the river notwithstanding. One should not begrudge Hennepin these four days, he will need every minute of them. He agrees with himself, however, regarding the date he and his men left the mouth of the Mississippi, April 1.⁶³

The question of dates may be summed up briefly thus: in one place we are told that Hennepin remained at the mouth of the Illinois River until March 12, when he sailed northward accord-

⁶² Le Clercq, II, 216.

⁶³ ND., 277, 314.

ing to the parallel passage of the *Description*; in another passage in the *New Discovery*, it is said that they sailed southward, March 8. For the return voyage we read that they passed the mouth of the Illinois River going upstream returning from the Gulf, after April 24. In the same *New Discovery*, where the latter date occurs, we read that Hennepin and his companions were taken prisoners by the Indians considerably north of the Illinois River, April 12, according to the *New Discovery*, April 11, according to the *Description*. These are but a few of the many contradictions with which the *New Discovery* abounds.

Hennepin's journey is examined in detail, because little is achieved when it is criticized as a whole. To say, for instance that in order to make the journey he needed to make sixty miles a day, with those who accept the unacceptable April 24, and one hundred miles a day, for thirty days, if the right date April 11 or 12 is taken, is not conclusive. One hundred miles a day downstream, at high waters, and with some night travel, is not only possible, but was done during the French colonial period. Upstream, however, by sheer man power, 100 or even 60 miles a day is a physical impossibility; and more than half of the 3,000 miles had to be traveled against the current. This average also supposes that Hennepin traveled every day, which was not at all the case. One of Hennepin's apologists wrote that after April 1, he "often" traveled at night.⁶⁴ There are only two instances of night traveling in the *New Discovery*, the night of April 1-2, and the night of April 24-12 (!) when Hennepin supposedly covered 500 miles upstream.

The distances given by Hennepin are set down and the real distances between two points traveled in one day are added for the sake of comparison. When it comes to the return journey, the time to cover the same distances will be added. One is startled to find him using much *less* time to cover some of the distances upstream than downstream, and to make the whole journey upstream in less than two-thirds of the time of the journey downstream,—and the downstream journey was made in an all time record speed.

March 8 then, according to the *New Discovery*, they left the mouth of the Illinois River for the Gulf. Drifting ice greatly endangered the bark canoe, but they maneuvered so skillfully as to dodge all these perils. Six leagues farther down, they sighted the mouth of the Missouri River.⁶⁵ From the context it is

⁶⁴ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 504.

⁶⁵ ND., 252; cf. Le Clercq, II, 216.

clear that Hennepin and his two companions stopped for the night. Well did Hennepin know that navigating a river with ice drifting down was a risky business, so he hastened to have it all melted overnight.

The following day, March 9, six leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, they found, just as La Salle was to find two years later,⁶⁶ an empty Tamarois village. Here Hennepin "loaded a few bushels of Indian corn."⁶⁷ In two days, according to our diarist, they had covered 12 leagues, 32 miles, an unappreciable part of the 1,300 miles to the sea. It became evident to Hennepin figuring out this trip in the house of Mijneer Van Blocklandt in Utrecht, seventeen years afterwards, that he would have to make better time if he wished to reach the Gulf before the end of the month. Luckily, Le Clercq gives the next distance as forty leagues, which were covered by La Salle in several days.⁶⁸ Hennepin took this distance, modified it a little, and said that in one day, March 10, he made "about 38 or 40 leagues."⁶⁹ We might just as well credit him with the longer distance in round numbers, 110 miles, which is quite an increase of speed over the 32 miles covered in the two previous days.

Thus the *New Discovery* brings our voyagers 52 leagues, or 140 miles, to the mouth of the Ohio. The actual distance is 234 miles. There they tarried four days, departing on March 14, loaded with meat.⁷⁰ Following this loading, there is mention of the impossibility of landing on account of the muddy banks, which detail is a *hors-d'oeuvre* taken from Le Clercq.⁷¹ When they left the mouth of the Ohio, they had been one week on the Mississippi, including the four days rest. The week's mileage stood at 234. At Cairo they still had 1,081 miles to the South Pass, 1,087 to the South West Pass at the mouth of the Father of Waters. Unfortunately, the Prudhomme incident as narrated in Le Clercq, could not by any stretch of the imagination be incorporated in the *New Discovery*, but Le Clercq spoke of meeting up with two Chickasaw Indians while searching for Prudhomme, and so at this point Hennepin speaks of meeting three of these natives,⁷² and later on he introduces tales about these

⁶⁶ Le Clercq, II, 218; cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

⁶⁷ ND., 255.

⁶⁸ Le Clercq, II, 219.

⁶⁹ ND., 255.

⁷⁰ ND., 256.

⁷¹ Le Clercq, II, 219.

⁷² Le Clercq, II, 220; ND., 256.

Chickasaw, which Lahontan aptly characterized as "niaiseries," trifling nonsense.⁷³

For March 15 and 16 no log is given by Hennepin. In Le Clercq we see that La Salle had traveled 45 leagues, or 120 miles, from "fort" Prudhomme, after Prudhomme had been found.⁷⁴ Of course, Hennepin could not use the "fort" as a starting point for the distance to be covered in his account of the following days' trip. But on March 17, after three days from the place, we suddenly find him near the mouth of the Arkansas River,⁷⁵ 400 miles from the Ohio, having made an average of 130 miles a day.

The *New Discovery* gives no distance between these two points, but the *New Voyage* does. In this latter, Hennepin paraphrased the pseudo-Douay, as in Le Clercq, where some of the distances are forced, contrary to what is done in Hennepin. Thus Father Douay is made to say the distance between the Arkansas villages and Fort Saint Louis, Illinois, is 400 leagues, or 1,080 miles, whereas the actual mileage is 940. When reading and commenting upon this, Hennepin appears chagrined because somebody traveled farther than he, so he adds that this is merely a guess of Douay.⁷⁶ He had more cause to be disturbed if he read what followed intelligently, and realized how speedily he had made himself journey from the Ohio to the Arkansas, for in Le Clercq we find:

This famous river [Ohio] . . . is 200 leagues [540 miles], from the Arkansas according to the estimate of the Sieur de la Salle, (as he often told me; and 250 leagues [675 miles], according to M. de Tonty and those who accompanied him in his second voyage to the sea),⁷⁷ —not that it is that distance in a straight line across the prairies, but following the river, which makes great turns and winds a great deal, for by cutting across the land it would not be more than five good days' march.

We passed accordingly, opposite the Oliabache [Ohio] on the 26th of the month of August, and found it fully 60 leagues to the mouth of the river Illinois, still ascending the main river.⁷⁸

⁷³ Cf. the letter of Lahontan in *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 41.

⁷⁴ Le Clercq, 221.

⁷⁵ ND., 258.

⁷⁶ Le Clercq, II, 359-360, NV., 101. There is an error of 100 leagues in Le Clercq, II, 359. He made Anastasius say: "Nous avions bien fait déjà trois cens cinquante lieues par travers des terres. . . ."; the total gives 250, it was corrected by Shea in his translation, *First Establishment of the Faith*, New York, 1881, II, 269. Hennepin gives 200 leagues only, NV., 101, he "dropped" 25 leagues in his transcription.

⁷⁷ The memoir of Tonty in Margry, I, 616, gives 98 leagues; that in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, 14, has 110 leagues.

⁷⁸ Le Clercq, II, 361-362, translation from Shea's version, II, 270-271.

All this was borrowed for use by Hennepin in the *New Voyage*, with the exception of the words in parentheses, and, of course the "we" which he changed to "they." Whenever Hennepin amplified a context, it was usually by the addition of some detail pertaining to himself, and usually a manifestation of extreme vanity. When the account mentioned the "five good days' march" item, he must have been relieved; the Indians could make 12 leagues a day on foot, a total of 160 miles in five days. But, from the Ohio to the Arkansas was 250 miles in a straight line, and 400 for Hennepin on the meandering Mississippi.

The description of the Arkansas villages is lifted bodily from Le Clercq⁷⁹ and embellished with some details of imminent dangers to his person. Thanks to his powers of persuasion, his canoemen were made to realize how much more important than their trade was "our discovery." And on March 18 they left, "a little after noon,"—a specific little touch added to forestall the sceptic or to inspire confidence in the narrative. A cache was made to store merchandise given by La Salle, then a second embarkation. They hastened with all speed past two other Arkansas villages, stopping at each. The distances between these are Le Clercq's, six leagues to the second, three leagues to the third. The rest of the narrative is merely a paraphrase of the *First Establishment*.⁸⁰

Le Clercq gives the distance from the Arkansas to the Taensa villages as 80 leagues, 216 miles, actually 260 miles.⁸¹ Hennepin gives no distance, enters into no details in his "journal" from March 17 to March 21, when he supposedly arrived at the settlement of the Taensa. March 22, they left for the Koroa, who, warned during the night of the arrival of Hennepin, had come to the Taensa villages and escorted him to their own village, ten leagues farther down.⁸² The location of the Taensa and the Koroa in Le Clercq's account is not clear. According to his narrative, the Koroa were ten leagues below the Natchez, a tribe which is not mentioned at all by Hennepin. Whatever the location of the Koroa⁸³ may be, Hennepin, of his own confession, was, March 22, ten leagues below the Taensa, whose habitat is well ascertained, or 400 miles from the Gulf.

⁷⁹ Le Clercq, II, 22.

⁸⁰ Le Clercq, II, 222-223, ND., 261-262.

⁸¹ Le Clercq, II, 226.

⁸² ND., 267.

⁸³ Le Clercq, II, 233; cf. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Washington, D. C., 1911, 6.

In Le Clercq, the Koroa chief told La Salle that he was still ten days from the sea;⁸⁴ Hennepin, on the other hand, made this Indian say that it would take six or seven days to reach "the great Lake where there were great wooden canoes."⁸⁵

While among the Koroa, Hennepin gives a sample of his thoughtlessness. He shows plainly that it was not the author of the Relation in Le Clercq who copied his "journal," but that it is Hennepin copying Le Clercq in a most unintelligent manner. Hennepin, not only doctored the chronology of his movements, but he also tampered with the phases of the moon! Le Clercq wrote that forty-four days after leaving the mouth of the Illinois River, La Salle was at the Koroa village, March 29, 1682, Easter Sunday, and that his expedition celebrated the feast before departing.⁸⁶ Hennepin, who had kept his chronology a few days ahead of La Salle, had himself in the Koroa village, March 23, 1680.

This was Easter Day, but we could not say Mass, for we lacked wine since we left Fort Crevecoeur. We withdrew from these people [Indians] who always had their eyes on us, in order to say our prayers and act as true Christians on this solemn day. I exhorted our men to confidence in God, after which we embarked in the sight of the whole village.⁸⁷

Easter Sunday fell on April 21, in 1680. Hennepin's phenomenal blunder here is no mere slip on his part, for he tells us and repeats that he was saying his breviary every day.⁸⁸ With this infallible guide in his hands, will it be maintained that he celebrated Easter one month ahead of time without being aware of it? Moreover, his apologists claim he kept a journal which he gave to Father Leroux, his superior, to copy; Hennepin entered this occurrence in his "journal." Would not this other Recollect have been startled to read how his confrere had celebrated the great feast on the Saturday before the second Sunday of Lent? And if Hennepin gave either journal or merely notes to Leroux, these covered the journey upstream, as well as downstream. It must certainly have appeared strange to Father Leroux to find Hennepin saying he reached Mille Lacs, 2,000 miles away from the Koroa, "about the Easter holidays of the year 1680,"⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Le Clercq, II, 233.

⁸⁵ ND., 267.

⁸⁶ Le Clercq, II, 233.

⁸⁷ ND., 268.

⁸⁸ DL., 212-214, ND., 320-321.

⁸⁹ DL., 242.

roughly speaking—since Easter fell April 21—at the beginning of May. This is exactly what he says in the *New Discovery*,⁹⁰ in which book he also claims to have celebrated Easter on March 23. It does not help Hennepin to maintain that owing to the "cruelty" of the Indians, he lost all notion of time. This partial amnesia did not occur until after he had been captured by the Sioux,⁹¹ and the entry about Easter in the "journal" or the "notes" was made long before.

Sixteen miles below the Koroa, La Salle's party saw an island 160 miles long dividing the Mississippi into two channels. This is not the place to discuss this particular feature, and Hennepin could hardly be blamed for sharing what apparently was a common error of the men of La Salle's expedition.⁹² But he must improve on Le Clercq. That latter wrote: "We were assured that on the other channel [eastern] ten different nations are encountered, which are all numerous and very good people."⁹³ Hennepin also "took" the west channel. The Chickasaw wanted to make him take the eastern; their insistence is explained: "It was perhaps to have the honor to bring us to nine or ten different nations, who live on that [eastern] channel, and who seemed to be very good people, as we noticed on our return."⁹⁴ But when this place is reached on the return journey, the east and west channels and the nine or ten nations have vanished.⁹⁵

On March 23 and 24, after having made 80 leagues, they came near where the Quinipissa were located. As in the case of La Salle's expedition,⁹⁶ Hennepin sighted fishermen, heard the beating of a drum. "We learned since that these Indians were Quinipissa."⁹⁷ Who told him is not said. (On the return journey he stopped among these Indians and wrote that "he thought" they were Quinipissa.) They hastened away and landed at the village of the Tangipahoa.⁹⁸ Where these Indians had their habitat on the Mississippi is a matter of speculation.⁹⁹ But the Quinipissa, later to be identified by Iberville as the Bayougoula and the Mugu-

⁹⁰ ND., 349.

⁹¹ ND., 350.

⁹² Cf. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith*, II, 175, note.

⁹³ Le Clercq, II, 234.

⁹⁴ ND., 269.

⁹⁵ La Salle explained why he did not investigate the east channel: "We had left all our equipment with the Arkansas, we had to go back the same way to take it when we went up the river. . . ." Fragment of an autograph letter of La Salle, BN, Clairambault, 1016:189, Margry, II, 200.

⁹⁶ Le Clercq, II, 235.

⁹⁷ ND., 270.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Le Clercq, II, 235; cf. Swanton, *Indian Tribes*, 284.

lasha,¹⁰⁰ lived below Donaldsonville, Louisiana. Hennepin was still nearly 200 miles from the sea.

On March 25, they embarked "at early dawn and after a navigation that was still longer than that of the preceding days," therefore, more than 40 leagues; they arrived at a place where the river divides into three channels." Taking the distance he gives from the Quinipissa, Hennepin was still some eighty miles from the head of the passes, or below the English Turn of today. When La Salle reached the passes, he divided his men into three groups, Tonty taking the middle channel. Hennepin sailed down the middle channel, that leading to the South Pass. The water was brackish and after two leagues became perfectly salt, says the chronicler of La Salle's expedition, and advancing on, they discovered the open sea.¹⁰¹ After entering the middle channel, Hennepin paraphrases the Le Clercq's narrative as follows: "The water was brackish, or half salt, and three or four leagues lower, we found it perfectly salt. Going still further, we discovered the sea, which forced us to land immediately, east of the Mississippi River."¹⁰² If Hennepin's text means anything, he was at the mouth of the Mississippi, and landed south of the present Port Eads, March 25, 1680.

At the Mouth of the River

While Hennepin is preparing to spend his first night on the Gulf Coast, it may be well to recapitulate distances and time as given by him. These data are used as a check on the return journey, for Hennepin, unlike the Wise Men of old, did not return by another route.

When writing at the start of his jaunt, he had given the distance from the Illinois to the sea as 120 or 130 leagues in a straight line, that is, about 5 degrees, since the French counted 25 leagues to the degree. This distance had been supplied by Bernou, who had it from La Salle writing *before* going down the river. Hennepin in writing his account had to make the parallels of north latitude fit this distance. If the mouth of the Illinois was between the 36° and the 37°, as he says in his *Description*, then by subtracting 5 degrees the mouth of the Mississippi must be between 31° and 32°. But in his *New Discovery* he had placed the mouth of the Illinois, between the 35° and the

¹⁰⁰ Margry, IV, 124.

¹⁰¹ Le Clercq, II, 236.

¹⁰² ND., 270-271.

36°, and since he must keep to the same distance, he had the mouth of the Mississippi moved one degree farther south between 30° and 31°. Now, finding the 38° given by Le Clercq for the mouth of the Illinois, he would have to move the one for the Mississippi back up north to the 33d parallel, that is, to the Louisiana-Arkansas boundary line, four degrees north of the actual location in a straight line and almost 600 miles north of its actual position by the winding river way. And since the actual location of the mouth of the Illinois is almost 39° the peripatetic delta would have to go even higher north. All this should have puzzled Hennepin. But he gave, from Le Clercq, the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi as lying between the 27° and the 28°, thus doubling the distance and the length of the river, which he had already given, for straight line and degree computation. But he failed to double the distance as far as the leagues traveled were concerned!

Hennepin had said that with the windings of the river, the distance from the Illinois to the Gulf was 200 leagues, or 540 miles. When all the distances given for the descent of the Mississippi in the *New Discovery* are added, a total of 235 leagues is reached, or 650 miles, and there are five days for which no log at all is given. The real distance, 1,300 miles was supposedly covered in 14 days of actual navigation, nearly 100 miles a day. Approximately the same result is reached if the distance from the Ohio to the Gulf is taken; in 11 days of actual navigation, he traveled nearly 1,100 miles, although this was record speed, it was not, absolutely speaking, impossible at high waters, provided one traveled 20 hours a day. Thus in 1700, Du Ru traveled 50 leagues in less than 30 hours. He wrote "our speed was due to the strong current of the Mississippi, whose waters are very high [the entry is April 6], and to a huge floating tree trunk to which we are moored."¹⁰³ The speed of the current at high waters was something like 5 miles an hour,¹⁰⁴ which was some-

¹⁰³ Ruth L. Butler, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, 1695-1763, 46. Other pertinent items are these: In his memoir of 1721, Legac, a Louisiana director, wrote that the journey from the Illinois settlements to the lower colony could be made in less than two weeks (*Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, I, 120 v). The minutes of the report made in Paris by the Louisiana committee in 1724, assert that it took six weeks to go the same distance (*Archives des Colonies* [AC], C 13A, 8:222). An anonymous memoir of 1746, speaking in general, says ordinarily it took three months to go from New Orleans to the Illinois settlements, but the distance down can be made in ten days (AC, C 13A, 30:251). De Lassus, who gives the wrong distance from the Illinois to New Orleans, from 800 to 900 leagues instead of 400, says the voyage could be made in twelve days (AC, C 13A, 33:168).

times made, but rarely by the boats plying between the Illinois settlements and New Orleans, roughly 1,100 miles. But Hennepin did not travel 20 hours a day, far from it. To make the trip downstream in the time he says it took him, 14 days from the Illinois River, 11 from the Ohio, we must suppose that his canoemen paddled so furiously as to double the speed supplied by the current, which is hardly credible, and the assertion found in the *New Voyage*, namely he could have made the trip in half the time, is absolutely incredible.

The reason why Hennepin did not launch into the deep, when coming to the mouth of the river, why he did not pursue his exploration much further into the Gulf after landing east of the South Pass, was because his two canoemen were afraid to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. Frequently the expert paddlers are blamed by Hennepin as obstructionists. In this case Hennepin would willingly have gone to Mexico, like Louisiana one of the "Delights of America."¹⁰⁵ But the uneasiness of his men made him resolve to go back the way he came. It was necessary, of course, to give the location of the mouth of the Great River, where he had been and where he would lead back the English or the Dutch whenever they wanted. "I do not profess to be a mathematician," he tells us, superfluously. He had learned to calculate the latitude by means of the astrolabe, he added, but La Salle would not give him the instrument, because the explorer always wanted to reserve to himself the honor of doing everything.

All this is conceit. How had he taken the latitude of the mouth of the Illinois River if he had no astrolabe? Two sticks were sufficient for this, but he did not even seem to be aware that the latitude could be approximately calculated with the cross staff. Hennepin inserted bodily what he found in Le Clercq, except a few changes.¹⁰⁶ He shortened the length of the river by ten leagues, giving 340 instead of 350. He had apparently forgotten he had given, a few pages previously, 200 leagues with the windings, and he certainly did not add up the distances of his journey, which total 235 leagues. In the *First Establishment*,

Bossu said at high waters the journey could be made in ten to twelve days (*Nouveaux voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Paris, 1768, I, 235). Pittman in from twelve to twenty-five days (*The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London, 1770, 36), and Captain Harry Gordon in from twelve to sixteen days (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, II, 1909, No. 2, 64).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the dedicatory letter to Louis XIV in the *Description* and that to William III in the *New Discovery*.

¹⁰⁶ Le Clercq, II, 238-239.

Espíritu Santo Bay is surmised to be northeast of the mouth of the Mississippi; but Hennepin is certain it was in that direction. The reason for his certainty: he had found the direction by means of his compass.

The course of the river below the Illinois was also copied from Le Clercq, who makes it flow south and southwest.¹⁰⁷ The editor of Le Clercq had very special reasons for having the Mississippi take that direction. Hennepin copied what is an interpolation in Membré's narrative taken from Bernou's papers.¹⁰⁸ The clause inserted in Hennepin's narrative about the Magdalena River is taken from the map in Le Clercq. The cartographer who drew the map in the *New Discovery* adapted Thévenot, Le Clercq, Coronelli, and he inserted what he found in older French maps of the Gulf, as can be seen from the diminutive Chicagua flowing into Mobile Bay. Hennepin makes no mention of the delta, nor is there any delta on his map. If he had been at the mouth, he could not have failed to notice the unusual feature of his "discovery."¹⁰⁹ To say such a feature is also absent from the map in the *First Establishment* explains nothing. In 1684 La Salle certainly manipulated the geography of his discovery of 1682 to fit in with his plans.¹¹⁰ A glance at Franquelin's map of 1684¹¹¹ and at Minet's of 1685¹¹² makes this clear. To be sure, these two maps, especially that of Franquelin, show something like a delta, but Hennepin had not seen the charts. La Salle made known that there was a harbor and that a fort could be built at the mouth of the river. Hennepin could not know this description had been invented, unless he himself had gone to the mouth of the river.

In 1699, Iberville gave the real configuration of the delta, and made known the true aspect of the mouth of the river. One of the first to whom the Canadian wrote after his return to France was Nicholas Thoynard, who had been much interested

¹⁰⁷ Le Clercq, II, 238, cf. DL., 194. *Before* going down the Mississippi La Salle had written: "Le Mississippi, en descendant en bas, paroist au sortir de Teatiki [Illinois River] aller au sud-sud-ouest . . ." BN, Clairambault, 1016:182, Margry, 248. Two autograph fragments of La Salle's letters show beyond doubt that the explorer, who was a good observer, had not made that mistake *after* he had gone down the Mississippi, BN, Clairambault, 1016:162 v, 188 v, Margry, II, 180, 198-199.

¹⁰⁸ *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 67-80.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. autograph fragment of La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:189, Margry, II, 200.

¹¹⁰ *Some La Salle Journeys*, 92-95.

¹¹¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXIII, Margry, III.

¹¹² Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, C 4044-4.

in La Salle's enterprises.¹¹³ All that Thoynard knew, however, was the false description of 1684. He sent the relation he had received from Iberville to Abbé J. B. Dubos. The latter answered: "If Father Hennepin were not in hiding, he should write a relation on an authentic description of the mouth of the Mississippi so different from that which he said he saw."¹¹⁴ This is what Hennepin claimed to have seen:

It is nevertheless indubitable that there is a fine harbor at the mouth of the River,¹¹⁵ as I noticed in 1680. The entrance [of the harbor or the river] is beautiful, as can easily be seen. Of the three arms which compose this mouth, I always followed the middle channel. The mouth [of this channel] is commodious, and we find along it several spots fit to build fortresses which will be in no danger of being flooded as was formerly believed. The lower part of this River is habitable and even is inhabited by several Indian nations who are not far from it.¹¹⁶ The greatest ships can go up the Mississippi more than 200 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico, thus bringing them to the Illinois river which river is navigable for above 100 leagues and discharges itself into the Mississippi.¹¹⁷

Later in the *New Voyage*, Hennepin delivered himself of a plan for founding colonies in North America. The second article of this plan reads: "A fort must be built at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but above all at the mouth of the Mississippi. . . ." Under the protection of these forts, "the settlers will be able to spread and clear the land in a radius of 20 to 25 leagues" (50 to 60 miles).¹¹⁸

Besides shortening again the Mississippi to its former 500 miles, these passages describing the mouth of the river show beyond doubt, independently of all the other contradictions contained in this mythical voyage, that Hennepin never saw the delta.¹¹⁹ In contradistinction to what he gave out in Paris, La

¹¹³ Cf. Margry, IV, xviii.

¹¹⁴ *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 164.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Iberville's journal for what this harbor consisted in, Margry, IV, 160.

¹¹⁶ The *New Voyage* was published the year after the *New Discovery*. He had written in the latter: "During our stay at the mouth of the Mississippi, we did not see a soul, so that we were unable to ascertain whether there are tribes inhabiting the sea shore," ND., 277.

¹¹⁷ NV., 107.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹¹⁹ In 1703, Joutel was asked by Delisle to send his remarks on a map just finished by the geographer. La Salle's companion wrote: "Et sy ledit fleuve se gette dans la mer a un cap aussy avancé que lauteur [Delisle] le marque [on the map] il est a croire qu'on ne lauroit pas du manquer . . ." Joutel to Delisle, 1703, ASH, 115-9:n. 12.

S
o
h
w
to
[
fi
ri

th
to
M
Ri
of
se
th
sh
Le
W
As
to
his
bil
of
no
liti
mo
for
he

par
the
Ton
give
119
he
to
178
show
Men
Est
of
fere
refle

ciati

1907

Salle accurately described the nature of the land near the mouth of the river to his men during his last expedition. There was no harbor, and a fort and settlements at the mouth of the river were out of the question. Joutel wrote: "M. de La Salle always told us that the Mississippi must be ascended nearly 60 leagues [160 miles, hence between Donaldsonville and New Orleans] to find a place for settlements, because the lower part of the said river is uninhabitable owing to floods and mud."¹²⁰

These facts clearly show that Hennepin never went down the Mississippi River, that he never gave a journal of his voyage to the Gulf to Father Leroux. The latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, the relation of this latitude to that of the Illinois River, the length of the Mississippi, its relation to other rivers of the southwest, the course and direction of the river, the absence of sand bars, were mostly Bernou's theoretical ideas of the Mississippi, that is, how the abbé had determined the river should be. Hennepin asserted that Father Membre's account in *Le Clercq* is a plagiarism of his own journal. Fifty years ago, W. F. Poole, in his inaugural address to the American Historical Association, said that if Hennepin is the author of the preface to the *New Voyage* where this statement occurs, a defense of his reputation was hopeless.¹²¹ Hennepin must bear the responsibility for the contents of the *New Discovery* as well as those of the *New Voyage*. The plagiarist in this case is neither Leroux, nor *Le Clercq*, nor Membre, but Hennepin, and "the records of literary piracy may be searched in vain for an act of depredation more recklessly impudent."¹²² The matter may be put in question form. If Hennepin had seen the lower Mississippi in 1680, would he blindly have put down the interpolated descriptive details

¹²⁰ Remarques tirees du livre intitule les dernieres decouvertes . . . par Monsieur le chevalier de Tonty, ASH, 115-9:n. 12. On this criticism of the pseudo-Tonty by Joutel, cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 8, 20 ff. Tonty's and Gravier's comments on Hennepin's voyage have already been given. The comparison between Iberville's vivid description (Margry, IV, 119, 159, cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 4) with that of Hennepin—who said he had seen the mouth of the river—is conclusive. Iberville takes Hennepin to task several times for the description of the river (Margry, IV, 120, 122, 178, 182). Margry supposed it was Hennepin's (Margry, IV, 168), but Shea showed that the censurable "Relation of the Recollect Father" is that of Membre, or that which passes as Membre's relation (*Le Clercq, The First Establishment of the Faith*, I, 34.) However, the Recollect Iberville speaks of in Margry, IV, xxxv, is certainly Hennepin. It certainly makes no difference, for Hennepin merely copied *Le Clercq*, adding fictitious details, reflections, and surmises.

¹²¹ "The Early Northwest," in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, III, 1889, n. 2, 40.

¹²² Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 230.

which are altogether at variance with the reality? Would he not have recognized, as Iberville did, that these details had been added to his journal by one who had never been in America? Would he have copied, for instance, out of his own journal a fictitious date for Easter? And would he not, when comparing his own journal with what is printed in *Le Clercq*, call attention to these discrepancies? The answers to these questions are obvious.

The Ascent

If the descent was made in record time, the ascent was still faster. Hennepin had traveled 1,300 miles downstream at high waters in 14 days, now, he was about to dash more than 1,700 miles upstream, at high waters, in 9 days. Hennepin was the coxswain of the canoe. Throughout the narrative there is no mention that he pulled an oar or wielded a paddle. He merely called the strokes; the two oarsmen furnished the power. Hennepin merely shrugs his shoulders and smiles at the barbarian weaklings afoot or in canoes, who try to keep pace with his crew.

Hennepin begins by saying that he did not have much time to make the necessary observations in order to take the exact position of the mouth of the Mississippi, overlooking the fact that he stayed five days at the mouth of the river and that he had previously mentioned how handicapped he was because of La Salle's monopoly of the astrolabe and his own ignorance of mathematics. Those canoemen of his, however, were two cruel fellows. Auguelle and Accault refused to help build a little hut on the delta, the purpose of which hut is not quite clear. These two mercenary men did not give him time to "write a letter with my own hand and to seal it that it may fall into the hands of the people of the country." It looks rather strange that in five days he did not have time to write a letter and "seal" it. The "people" here referred to must be the Indian tribes living not far away from the mouth of the river, whose existence was problematical a few pages back. However, he finally found time to write his letter "signed by me and by the two men who were with me, containing a succinct account of our identities and of our voyage." The letter was attached to a cross which they were able to raise because "fortunately the earth consisted of firm clay at that spot."¹²³ Such spot of firm clay must have been a

¹²³ ND., 275-276.

special creation; when La Salle took possession of Louisiana in 1682, he had to ascend the river 30 miles to find a dry spot.¹²⁴

On April 1, a date quite in keeping with the contents of this voyage, they started for the north, and the same evening they were at the Tangipahoa village, but the memory of corpses seen on the way down deterred them from landing. After a frugal supper, they continued the whole night upstream, lighting "a great match," as the English version has it,¹²⁵ to frighten away crocodiles. The following morning at daybreak they saw Indian women hastening toward a village, but the paddlers kept pace with the squaws. They only lost their lead when Auguelle stopped paddling to shoot bustards. We thought, wrote Hennepin, that the Indian village where we stopped was a Quinipissa settlement.¹²⁶

These twenty-four hours are truly remarkable. When the distance given for the downstream trip is checked, it is found that the Tangipahoa were 46 leagues, 125 miles, from the mouth of the river, and the Quinipissa much higher upstream. Le Clercq indeed gives only two leagues, but from Hennepin's context they had to travel the whole night to cover the distance—it is clear that they were much farther north. As was said above, the Quinipissa were located nearly 200 miles from the sea. The coxswain, after having called the strokes for 24 hours, was somewhere below Donaldsonville, Louisiana.

It is enough to state this feat to see immediately its absolute physical impossibility. He had traveled 125 miles in ten hours at the most during the day, and 75 miles during the night. The Olympic champion paddlers in 1936, made about 7 miles an hour over one kilometer on still waters, or eleven feet per second.¹²⁷ Hennepin tells us that his men paddled during the day at an average of 12 miles an hour, if they took time out for meals, and more than 10 miles an hour during the night. If we add the speed of the current to the distance supposedly traveled, we find Hennepin's canoemen went more than twice as fast as the recent Olympic champions, and kept up the pace not for a few moments but for twenty-four hours. Hennepin had been

¹²⁴ See *procès-verbal* of April 9, 1682, Margry, II, 190; and cf. Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 275.

¹²⁵ *New Discovery*, Thwaites edition, I, 202.

¹²⁶ ND., 278-280.

¹²⁷ The records covering a period of fifty-eight years show, it is said, that over the Henley distance, one and a half mile, on still water on a perfectly calm day, the speed of an eight-oared crew is limited to seventeen feet per second, or twelve miles an hour.

able to gauge the strength of the Mississippi on his way to the north after being captured by the Indians. He had spoken earlier in *New Discovery* of the swiftness of the rivers of the New World at flood time, enabling the canoes to make 35 leagues a day downstream. He tried now to forestall an objection which was bound to arise, namely, that the current must have impeded his progress, by saying he had avoided the rush of the mighty stream by keeping close to its banks.¹²⁸ This would only increase his mileage, and moreover the "banks" of the Mississippi at high waters are indeed vague; the whole of lower Louisiana was flooded.¹²⁹ Hugging the "banks" he mentions might well have got him stranded in some bayou, and, if he followed the compass which had shown the Mississippi flowing southwest, he might have found himself merrily sailing Lake Pontchartrain.

Hennepin's paddlers bucked the Mississippi floodwaters for nearly 200 miles in 24 hours. How dangerous it was to navigate these upstream need not be pointed out. Drifting trees were a constant peril; the slightest snag would rip open the canoe as though it were made of paper. His was made of bark. "Bark canoes are very fragile. If they rub ever so little against sand or stones, they crack, water enters through the fissures and spoils the merchandise or one's provisions. So that hardly one day passes without some repair." When landing "the canoe must be unloaded, and beached on the sand or on the mud lest the wind break it."¹³⁰ It cannot be said that Hennepin so skilfully maneuvered as to avoid all snags, for he says that he traveled the

¹²⁸ "In the spring the Mississippi is very high; and though the current is so strong that nothing can make head against it in the middle of the river, they have an advantage by an eddy or counter current, which runs in the bends, and close to the banks of the river, and greatly facilitate their voyage. The current, at this season, runs at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. . . ." Pittman, 7. Cf. Margry, IV, 164.

¹²⁹ A good description of the river is found in an anonymous document of the beginning of the eighteenth century. "The Mississippi River is swollen by melted snows from the beginning of February until the end of July. During that time it floods all the low land which is not protected by levees. Before New Orleans the water is 28 fathoms deep. . . . Such a furious volume of water gushes out of this river and with such rapidity that the water is still fresh from 15 to 20 leagues in the sea" [Cf. Iberville's Journal, Margry, IV, 162]. "This river at high waters, drifts a prodigious quantity of trees, uprooted by the streams on its way. It is sometimes completely covered with such trees, for the most floating into the sea through the South and South West Passes." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 2549:121. Cf. letter of Lahontan in Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 45; the information is supposed to have been derived from the notes of La Salle. In March, 1699, when the waters were not so high, Iberville found the current making three and a half miles an hour (Margry, IV, 160).

¹³⁰ Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, Paris, 1724, II, 215; cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 40.

whole night in pitch darkness.¹³¹ The night of April 1, 1680, was that of the new moon. His "wick" would not light the way far ahead enough to dodge the trees rushing down the river at that time of the year, or to avoid the snags. Each detail of these first twenty-four hour upstream navigation is fantastic. Any one narrating such an uncanny feat as Hennepin's journey from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Quinipissa from April 1 in the morning until daybreak of April 2, is imposing upon the reader.

They remained two days at this Indian village, until April 4. Having rested and recovered their strength after the strenuous exploit, "we made much haste in our voyage."¹³² They had to travel fast in order to reach the mouth of the Wisconsin River on April 11, for the paddlers were still more than 1,500 miles away. That day, April 4, they reached the Koroa. If we take the distance given by Hennepin for the descent between the Quinipissa and the Koroa, we find 40 leagues, or 100 miles. According to the text, they arrived early enough in the afternoon to enable the Indians to carry their canoe on their shoulders to the village.¹³³ Well could the Koroa thus show their admiration by carrying the canoe in triumph, for it was much more extraordinary than the magic carpet of the Arabian fairy tales. At this village, on their way down the Koroa chief had said that they were six or seven days' journey from the sea downstream, and here was Hennepin making the upstream trip in less than two days!

They left the Koroa village, April 5. Hennepin asserts he lacked time to learn about several nations, because his canoe-men were impatient to reach the spot where their merchandise had been hidden. All they could think about was trade and pelts. No expostulation on the part of Hennepin could make them prefer the public good to their private interests. It was most unfortunate. Had these two fellows been less mercenary, ethnography and geography would have been indebted to Hennepin for valuable information. For some unknown, unmentioned reason they "only" reached the Taensa on April 7, having taken two days to cover a distance which he had given going downstream as 10 leagues, 30 miles.¹³⁴ The location of the Koroa, as already mentioned, is not clear either in La Salle's *procès-verbal* or in

¹³¹ The night travel spoken of above was in wooden canoe and downstream; in the case of Du Ru, his pirogue was protected by a huge tree which acted as a buffer.

¹³² ND., 281.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ ND., 283-284.

Le Clercq. Hennepin copying the latter does not clarify the text. The habitat of the Taensa is better ascertained. Their villages, three leagues inland, were four hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. Our paddlers had kept an average of eighty miles a day. Hennepin tells us here that the Taensa had called in fellow Indians from far and near to admire "our merchandises." This is merely an oversight on the part of the chronicler, who had asserted a few pages previously and who will repeat a few pages further down that the merchandises had been cached not far below the Arkansas River.

The next day, April 8, they embarked and reached their cache on April 9, "two hours before nightfall," after having traveled the 230 miles in less than two days. While Augelle and Accault were opening the cache, to distract the attention of the ever present Indians, Hennepin invited these to have a smoke. While his men were unearthing their goods and before the arrival of the Indians, Hennepin patched up the marvelous canoe. No doubt, it must have been badly in need of repair after its racking speed. An idea of its speed is given at this point of the narrative. Indians following its progress on the bank of the Arkansas River had to walk fast in order to keep up with the canoe. Only a fleet runner arrived at the Arkansas village before them.¹³⁵

Hennepin warns us that he will not describe all the dances, the feasts, the banquets offered them by the Arkansas Indians. His paddlers were longing to reach the North where they could sell their wares for pelts. "Nous partimes le 1 Avril, and during about 60 leagues of navigation we met neither Chickasaw nor Missouri Indians." This date is found as printed here in the first edition of the *New Discovery*.¹³⁶ In the Amsterdam edition of the following year, 1698, it is exactly the same, but in those of 1704, Amsterdam and Leyden, and in that of Amsterdam of 1712, there is a period after the number: "Nous partimes le 1. d'Avril." This is clearly a misprint. The editor of the German edition of 1699,¹³⁷ and the editor of the Dutch edition of 1702,¹³⁸ have both April 11. This is easily explained. These men had no idea of the enormous distance between the Arkansas and the Wisconsin along the Mississippi. They thought that, since Hen-

¹³⁵ ND., 287-289.

¹³⁶ ND., 290.

¹³⁷ "Wir bracken den 11. April auff," *Neue Entdeckung*, Bremen, 1699, 216.

¹³⁸ "Wy vertrokken de 11. April," *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, Amsterdam, 1702, 123.

nepin, according to the *New Discovery*, was taken prisoner on the 12th, one day would be sufficient for travel from one point to another. Yet both Dutch and German editors begin chapter XLIII with April 24.¹³⁰ They apparently abandoned all idea of correcting further Hennepin's chronology. The English editor corrected it in another manner: "We left the Akansas upon the 24th of April."¹⁴⁰ They were also puzzled by the opening sentence of chapter XLIII, but while they avoid having Hennepin incriminate himself, neither the German, the Dutch, nor the English editors seem to have been at all perturbed by the fact that hundreds of miles farther Hennepin was taken prisoner on April 12. The insertion of April 24 by the English editor is unacceptable, because Hennepin certainly did not stay two weeks among the Arkansas,¹⁴¹ and the date at the beginning of chapter XLIII in every edition, French, German, Dutch, and English, does not make sense.¹⁴²

After leaving the Arkansas, the *New Discovery* becomes more incoherent than ever before. Sixty leagues from the Arkansas would bring Hennepin near present Memphis, Tennessee. The voyage upstream really ends at the Arkansas. Hennepin digresses on the beauty of the Mississippi River for twenty pages, down to chapter XLIII, which he opens with the sentence "Nous nous embarquames le 24. d'Avril."¹⁴³ He omits to say where he embarked on this day, but from the context he was still below the Illinois River, and after one night paddling they were "far enough from its mouth approaching the north."

¹³⁰ "Wir stiegen den 24 April wieder von neuem zu Schiffe," *Neue Entdeckung*, 231; "Wy scheepten on den 24. April in," *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, 132.

¹⁴⁰ A *New Discovery*, Bon- edition, London, 1698, 168; Tonson edition, London 1698, 135. "We left the Akansa's upon the 24th of April," is the reading of the 1699 London edition, 129.

¹⁴¹ "La succession des dates rend manifeste l'omission typographique d'un zero, pour lire le 10 (Dix) Avril," is Goyens' interpretation, *loc. cit.*, 338. This author does not seem to have been disturbed by the fact that on April 11, 1680, at 2:00 p. m., according to the DL, 206, April 12, at the same hour according to the ND., 314, Hennepin was near the Wisconsin, nearly one thousand miles away.

¹⁴² EDITOR'S NOTE: It seems best to omit here a long note giving citations to the succession of dates and places which Hennepin put down from the time he arrived at the Arkansas until he was taken prisoner. Time, place, and tribes are utterly confused. If anyone wishes to check the statements for himself he may take the following references in order: ND., 286; ND., 290-291; ND., 295; ND., 311-313*; ND., 314; DL., 206; ND., 314.

¹⁴³ ND., 311. This sentence is exactly the same in the five French editions consulted. As was seen above in the text, the German and the Dutch editors have this date also, but the three English editors, who had made Hennepin say that he left the Arkansas April 24, logically wrote here: "We imbarqu'd the Twenty fourth of April, as I have already said," Bon-, 179, Tonson, 143; 1699, 137.

The description of the Mississippi is adorned with a passage on Jolliet. While in Quebec, Hennepin heard that Jolliet had gone to the Mississippi, but that he had not descended the river for fear of monsters and Spaniards. Always thorough and anxious to ascertain the truth about everything, Hennepin investigated the matter. As nobody knew better than Jolliet whether he actually went down the river, Marquette's companion was questioned by Hennepin and got a very satisfactory answer:

But I must here say that I very often sailed in a canoe with the said Sieur Jolliet on the St. Lawrence River, and even in times very dangerous on account of the high winds, from which however we fortunately escaped to the great astonishment of everybody, because he was a very good canoeman. I therefore had occasion to ask him many a time whether in fact he had been as far as the Arkansas.

This man who had much consideration for the Jesuits of Normandy (because his own father was from Normandy) confessed to me that he had often heard these monsters spoken of among the Ottawa but that he had never been as far as that and that he had remained among the Hurons and the Ottawa [that is, at Michilimackinac] to trade in beaver and other peltries. But that these Indians had often told him that this river [Mississippi] could not be descended on account of the Spaniards, whom they made him dread exceedingly. I gave great credit to the statements of the Sieur Jolliet, because in fact during the whole of our journey on the Mississippi, we found no mark that could have made us know that the Spaniards are in the habit to travel upon it.¹⁴⁴

There would be no reason for delaying on Hennepin's statements but for comments passed by an apologist. It is said that Margry after reproducing this passage of the *New Discovery* takes Hennepin to task for having denied a real voyage, that of Jolliet down the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas. "The responsibility of this denial is not Hennepin's but Jolliet's. The Recollect himself pretends to have concealed during seventeen years his own exploration of the lower Mississippi. Why not admit that Jolliet, very closely united with the Jesuits, actually did not judge fit to take the Recollect as confident of his own exploration."¹⁴⁵ If this means anything, it means that Jolliet lied about his exploration to Hennepin as the Recollect lied about his own when he asserted in the *Description* that he did not go down the Mississippi, and in the *New Discovery* that he went. But since elsewhere this "concealing" is labelled mental reserva-

¹⁴⁴ ND., 293-294.

¹⁴⁵ "Le P. Hennepin devant l'histoire," *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 266.

tion, it follows that Jolliet is only guilty of the same peccadillo. It can be safely held that Jolliet never made such a statement to Hennepin. When such assertions are found in the writings of Hennepin, it is for apologists to prove that they were actually made, because Jolliet is known as a truthful man, whereas Hennepin is not.

In the above quoted passage from the *New Discovery*, Hennepin is "correcting" what he himself had written in the *Description of Louisiana*.

While the Sieur de la Salle was engaged in building his fort [Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario], men envious of him, judging by so promising a beginning what he might achieve later (with our Recollect missionaries who by their disinterested life were attracting several families which came to settle at the fort) sent the sieur Jolliet to anticipate him in his discoveries, who (*he*) went by Green Bay to the Mississippi, and descended it to the Illinois country, and came back by the lakes (*the Lake of the Illinois [Michigan]*) without having then or since tried to begin any establishment (nor make any report to the Court).¹⁴⁶

The words in parentheses indicate omissions and those in italics within parentheses modifications of the text of the *Description* in the so-called *Relation des decouvertes* written by Bernou.¹⁴⁷ The abbé did not mind if Hennepin published abroad that no report was made by Jolliet to the Court. The responsibility for this statement, according to the title page of the book, was Hennepin's. But in the report that was to be handed to the minister Bernou knew better than to make such a denial. There was the letter of Frontenac of November 14, 1674,¹⁴⁸ of which Bernou certainly knew; there was Jolliet's map of the same year, and another map which Bernou traced, as well as the letter of that map which he copied;¹⁴⁹ there was a letter of Frontenac of 1677, which Bernou also copied and then adapted;¹⁵⁰ there was a copy of Jolliet's relation which somehow found its way in the papers of Renaudot, Bernou's friend.¹⁵¹ La Salle too knew of the official report of Jolliet, for in 1679 and in 1681 he found fault with it.¹⁵² And Hennepin himself knew that such a report had

¹⁴⁶ DL., 13-14.

¹⁴⁷ Margry, I, 438. Cf. BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19v, 87.

¹⁴⁸ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, AC, C 11A, 4:81v-82.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Some La Salle Journeys*, 35, note 63.

¹⁵⁰ BN, Clairambault, 1016:43-48 v.

¹⁵¹ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:176-177 v, cf. also *ibid.*, 7497:19, 118 v.

¹⁵² Margry, II, 81, 95, 137, 166, 170, 179, 245.

been made, for he was with La Salle when the explorer criticized Jolliet. This merely shows what becomes of the assertions of Hennepin when they can be checked.

The above paragraphs, digressing a bit from the main theme, reveal Hennepin's peculiar psychosis. Among his shortcomings must be mentioned his mania for having been first, for having seen more Indian tribes than anybody ever saw before, for having traveled faster and farther than everybody.¹⁵³ Not only must nobody have gone to the mouth of the Mississippi before 1680, but no one must even have seen the river before Hennepin. He had also to find something new, he had to add some personal touch to the little story he had read in Le Clercq, where the pseudo-Douay claims that Jolliet did not go farther than the mouth of the Missouri, and where the narrator speaks of the "pretended" discovery of 1673.

Hennepin was left supposedly 60 leagues north of the Arkansas on April 11, in the vicinity of Memphis. He was sighted again on April 24, somewhere below the Illinois River. He advised his men to travel by night and sleep by day, for fear they might be seen by the French of Fort Creveoeur, 160 miles from the mouth of the Illinois, and 100 leagues, 270 miles from where they were, or near Chester, Illinois. These 100 leagues, he adds, are only a short distance because of the great speed of the bark canoes. By this time we are quite ready to believe anything connected with bark canoes. "And in fact after having navigated the whole night we were far enough from the mouth [of the Illinois River] approaching the north." This should be *the morning of April 25*. A sort of recapitulation is then given telling how pleasurable the trip on the Mississippi had been since they left the Gulf; how they had lacked no food, having game and fish in abundance. Hennepin was making profound reflections on the sweetness and on the advantages of prayer, when "*the same day April 12*," while his two canoe men were engaged in cooking and he in repairing the canoe, "I noticed suddenly at about 2.00 p. m. 50 bark canoes led by 120 stark naked Indians coming down the Mississippi. They were on a war expedition against

¹⁵³ Winsor speaking of the map inserted in the first edition of the *Description of Louisiana* wrote: "Another noticeable point of the map is the representation of a mission station far north of the source of the Mississippi, where it is certain that none had been established, or at least there is no record of such. The placing of it there seems to have been a pretension on the part of the Recollect Hennepin that his order had outstripped the venturesome Jesuits, but he prudently removed it from his later maps" *Cartier to Frontenac*, 278-279.

the Miami, the Illinois, and the Tamarois."¹⁵⁴

Considering the time elapsed since he left the mouth of the Illinois River and began to ascend the Mississippi, March 12, for this is the right date as shown above, and considering the time it took the Indians to row up nearly to the Falls of St. Anthony, the place where this misfortune occurred is thought to be near the Wisconsin River.¹⁵⁵ The date given, April 12, is at variance with that found in the *Description*,¹⁵⁶ April 11, and with the date given by La Salle—also April 11—in a letter certainly written before the explorer saw the book;¹⁵⁷ for Hennepin wrote to La Salle and gave this date as well as the number of canoes, 33.¹⁵⁸ The agreement of the *Description* and of La Salle's letter on the question of dates has demonstrative force and it disposes of the arbitrary theory of Goyens that possibly Hennepin "purposely advanced the date of his meeting the Sioux."¹⁵⁹

From here on, Hennepin has no longer need of Le Clercq. No great changes could be made about the date given in the *Description*, unless he was prepared to make essential changes in the narrative published in 1683. To explain these changes he had no story about his fear of La Salle, the alleged reason for concealing the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. Besides, in the third volume, the *New Voyage*, Hennepin claimed that one month was all that was necessary to make the journey down to the Gulf and back, and that if he had wanted, he could have made the trip down in half the time. The date of Hennepin's capture then is either April 12 or April 11. Since two independent sources give April 11, this is the right date; that of April 24, with which his apologists have toyed, must be rejected, unless they want to make the northern trip appear as eccentric as Hennepin made the southern one appear.

When Hennepin was sighted, April 24, he was not near the mouth of the Wisconsin, but more than 100 miles below the Illinois. Nobody will ever accept his traveling up to the Wisconsin in one night and half a day. To cover this distance upstream, roughly about 500 miles, would take more than a month, that is, by ordinary, natural means. In fact it took him one month to

¹⁵⁴ ND., 313*.

¹⁵⁵ The text of the *Description* is not sufficiently clear to give a closer approximation. They had certainly not passed Prairie du Chien; they may well have been 50 miles or more below. In computing the distances this has been taken into account.

¹⁵⁶ DL., 206.

¹⁵⁷ BN, Clairambault, 1016:185 v. Margry, II, 255.

¹⁵⁸ BN, Clairambault, 1016:187, Margry, II, 259.

¹⁵⁹ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 484.

cover 100 miles less than this distance. Consequently, Hennepin could hardly have reached the Wisconsin before the end of May, at the earliest. In both the *Description*¹⁶⁰ and in the *New Discovery*,¹⁶¹ he wrote that the party rowed upstream for 19 days before coming near the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 250 miles. They then struck north on foot for five days, and came near Mille Lacs "at the beginning of the month of May, 1680,"¹⁶² says the *New Discovery*, "about the Easter holidays of the year 1680,"¹⁶³ as the *Description* puts it, that is, at the beginning of the month of May, for Easter fell on April 21 that year, and not, as he had said before, on March 23.

The context shows that the beginning of May is the correct date. It still froze every night. The rivers and the lakes were full of ice, which cut Hennepin's legs when he forded the rivers and made them bleed.¹⁶⁴ If he had been 100 miles below the Illinois on April 24, reaching the Wisconsin at the end of May, and Mille Lacs in the latter part of June, it is hardly credible that such consistently low temperatures should have prevailed even in Minnesota. It must be observed that this reasoning supposes that, coming up from the Gulf Hennepin left the Arkansas villages on April 11, after having made 700 miles in 7 days of actual navigation; it also supposes him covering another 500 miles to Chester, Illinois, in less than two weeks; two absolutely impossible physical feats.

Hennepin knew his fantastic voyage would be questioned the moment it was published, and in the preface of his third book, the *New Voyage*, which he probably wrote while the *New Discovery* was still being printed,¹⁶⁵ he decided to put on a bold front.

There are some who can't very well understand how I was able in so short a time to travel so far on the Mississippi River. These men don't know that in bark canoes one can travel 20, 25 to 30 leagues in one day,¹⁶⁶ every day, by dint of paddling, and even more when one is in a hurry. And even if we, the three of us, had only made ten leagues each day; in thirty days we could easily have made three

¹⁶⁰ DL., 219, 223, 233.

¹⁶¹ ND., 325, 329, 339.

¹⁶² ND., 349.

¹⁶³ DL., 242.

¹⁶⁴ DL., 234-235, ND., 322, 340.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, Durham, N. C., 1928, 52, note 19, and 53, note 21.

¹⁶⁶ The *Tonson* edition, as well as that of 1699, have "against the Stream of a River," but Hennepin does not say this in the text, and the clause is not found in the *Bon-* edition of 1698.

hundred leagues. And during the time it took us from the Illinois River down to the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, if we had wished to make haste in our canoe, we could have made the journey twice.¹⁶⁷

With this amusing boldness Hennepin imposed upon the ignorance of European readers. He told them of an imaginary journey in a miraculous canoe upon an elastic river. First, the distance from the Illinois to the Gulf is 5 degrees, or 120 to 130 leagues in a straight line, then 10 degrees; with the bends the distance is 200 leagues, then 325, then 340, and finally 150. More variations follow regarding the total length, which in the *New Discovery* is estimated at above 800 leagues, more than 2,160 miles, from source to sea with windings.¹⁶⁸ Hennepin calculated that he traveled 400 leagues from the Illinois to St. Paul,¹⁶⁹ hence to make up the stated 800 leagues there were 400 from the Illinois to the Gulf, or 1,080 miles; this is the closest approximation, being only 250 miles short of the real distance. But he found this out not by actual traveling but from Le Clercq. In his mileage computations he almost doubled the length of the Mississippi north of the Illinois and lopped off about two-thirds south of Grafton, Illinois. In the quotation given above, he simply eliminated the distance between the Illinois and the Wisconsin rivers. And, strange to say, he was quite undisturbed about it all.

As if Hennepin had not sufficiently wrought havoc with the length of the "River of Rumor," Father Goyens shortened it still more. The 300 leagues from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf and back to the Wisconsin were given as 300 miles.¹⁷⁰ Scott remarked that the good Father had a very hazy idea of the matter about which he wrote with so much assurance. The Mississippi, the Canadian critic reminded Hennepin's apologist, is not the Scheldt, the Meuse, or even the Rhine.¹⁷¹ What Lafitau wrote two hundred years ago has not changed. The rivers of Europe are mere creeks in comparison with those of the Western hemisphere.¹⁷² It is not 300 miles or 300 leagues that Hennepin should have had to cover from March 12 to April 11, when he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, but 3,000 miles; it is the dis-

¹⁶⁷ *Nouveau Voyage*, preface.

¹⁶⁸ ND., 275.

¹⁶⁹ DL., 218, ND., 325.

¹⁷⁰ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 484.

¹⁷¹ *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, 138.

¹⁷² *Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, II, 200.

tance from Philadelphia to San Francisco via Chicago; it is equivalent to 4,800 kilometers, twice the distance between Calais, France, and Bucharest, Rumania. Father Goyens made a mistake in mentioning "superficial readers."

The Canoe

The heap of contradictions, recantations, and downright false statements of the *New Discovery* is crowned with more amazing assertions about that marvelous engine, the bark canoe. Hennepin often speaks of the little Indian boats. At the threshold of the *New Discovery*, he explains how they are built, how they are maneuvered, how sails are fastened to a small mast to increase their speed.

One who is skilled in managing these little vessels can make *30 to 35 leagues a day going down a river*, and sometimes more on the lakes when the wind is favorable. Some canoes are larger than others. Ordinarily they carry a load of one thousand pounds; some 1,200, and the largest 1,500 pounds. Even the smallest carry from 3 to 400 pounds with two men or women to steer them. The largest canoes are managed by 3 or 4 men, and sometimes 7 or 8 canoeemen to go faster when there is urgency.¹⁷³

The fragile little vessels about which Hennepin speaks so kindly were to the French traders and Indians of those days what the cherished horses were to the plainsmen and trappers of the West at a later date. Hennepin used the same canoe during his whole journey, until it was smashed by the Indians when his party landed near St. Paul.¹⁷⁴ But the words italicized above indicate the top speed at which he thought they could be propelled downstream, and they are, of course, in contradiction to what he had said of the speed made going up the river. Not that he actually said "upstream" but that he clearly implied such speed could be made against the current; as already noted, the English editor added the word "upstream." But even if canoes could move more than 30 leagues, or 80 miles, a day upstream, it was impossible for him to have gone from the Gulf to the Wisconsin in 9 days, for this would have required an average of more than 180 miles a day. But what Hennepin says about the speed of canoes downstream is borne out by other evidence:

The coureurs de bois propel their canoes with small oars of hardwood, light, and very well adapted for that purpose. The man who stands

¹⁷³ ND., 22. (Italics inserted.)

¹⁷⁴ DL., 233; ND., 339.

behind steers the canoe. . . . The other two paddle. . . . A well-manned canoe can make more than fifteen leagues [40 miles] a day on still waters. They travel over greater distances going downstream, but few leagues [a day] can be made going upstream. . . . A favorable wind greatly helps the canoeman, who never fails to hoist a sail. . . .¹⁷⁵

There is no mention that he ever hoisted a sail during his journey on the Mississippi. His canoe was lightly laden; it drew only three inches of water when he left the Gulf.¹⁷⁶ It is true that the merchandises had been cached below the Arkansas, but this lightening of the load had been amply made up with the few bushels of Indian corn and with the meat embarked at the mouth of the Ohio. When this was consumed, they embarked more food on leaving the Quinipissa village.¹⁷⁷ When they reached the cache on the "return journey," one thousand miles from the Wisconsin, the merchandises which La Salle had given them were re-loaded. They were worth 1,000 livres, according to the *New Discovery*,¹⁷⁸ from 1,000 to 1,200 according to the *Description*.¹⁷⁹ An idea of the weight of these merchandises can be had from a passage of the *New Discovery*. When they reached Saint Paul, what was left of the tobacco, only one item, still weighed 50 pounds.¹⁸⁰ Besides, Hennepin had his chapel kit, his books, and his papers, whatever these were.

When he met the Chickasaw, "these Indians could not enter the canoe because it was too small and too encumbered as it was."¹⁸¹ Later, when he wanted to shake off the Chickasaw he merely raised the stroke. The Indians "could not go as fast as our bark canoe which was lighter than their pirogues,"¹⁸² which are boats hewn out of the trunk of a tree, he explained. An idea of the speed of the canoe is given when he says that in order to keep pace with it, one had to walk fast. His paddlers lost a race only when their competitors on land took to running.¹⁸³ In spite of their strenuous efforts, the Taensas in their lightest pirogues

¹⁷⁵ *Memoire historique sur les mauvais Effets de la Reunion des Castors dans une même main*. This memoir is dated February 22, in AC, C 11A, 22:356-378, a copy of which, in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, is dated February 12; extracts from it are printed in Hamy, *Au Mississippi*, Paris, 1903, 279-280.

¹⁷⁶ ND., 278.

¹⁷⁷ ND., 281.

¹⁷⁸ ND., 240; worth about 1,000 livres says La Salle, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

¹⁷⁹ DL., 187.

¹⁸⁰ ND., 343.

¹⁸¹ ND., 257.

¹⁸² ND., 269.

¹⁸³ ND., 279, 288.

could not keep up with the magic canoe.¹⁸⁴ It was not Hennepin, however, who was shattering all these speed records, but Auguelle and Accault, who after bowing and taking off their hats in the best sweeping Louis XIV fashion, seized their paddle and showed these barbarians that they were capable of outdoing them.

The canoe underwent a great change after Hennepin met the Sioux. The paddlers lost their preternatural strength as if by enchantment; the canoe became heavy, larger than those of the Sioux; four or five sturdy Indians were needed in the same canoe, where there had been no room for the three Chickasaw, to help Auguelle and Accault. This help was needed to travel not 150 miles a day, but to keep pace with Indians making some 15 miles a day. "These Indians are very strong rowers. They row from early morning till nightfall. They hardly stop to eat. To force us to follow them, they gave us ordinarily four or five men to enable us to go faster. Our canoe was larger and more heavily loaded than theirs, so that we had need of them to go as fast as they."¹⁸⁵ The reason for this magic change is easily found. Hennepin had to follow very closely what he had written in his first book, and with the greatest unconcern he flatly contradicts what he had written a few pages previously in the *New Discovery*. North of the Illinois River, both in the *Description* and in the *New Discovery*, the canoe behaves like an ordinary, self-respecting canoe; south of the Illinois River, the same canoe had to be endowed with preternatural qualities to enable its coxswain to travel over 3,000 miles in 23 days, 1,300 miles downstream in 14 days, 1,700 miles upstream in 9 days.

III. THE HENNEPIN PROBLEM

The real Hennepinian problem does not consist in thus establishing a concordance between the data found in the *New Discovery*, natural physical endurance, and the geography of the Mississippi River. There is no concordance. The problem consists in explaining what prompted him to assert that he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1680, which forced him to contradict himself nearly at every turn, and to make patently false statements. Anyone studying the voyage with a map of the Mississippi River before his eyes, will readily subscribe to Shea's verdict that his voyage down to the Gulf is too absurd to be

¹⁸⁴ ND., 285-286.

¹⁸⁵ ND., 325, cf. DL., 319.

received for a moment. Hennepin's claim to priority "in the exploration of the Lower Mississippi must certainly be considered one of the most gigantic frauds in American history."¹⁸⁶ Shea's interpolation theory is not acceptable, and is no longer accepted by Hennepin's defenders. But in the "Avis au lecteur" prefaced to the *New Discovery*, Hennepin takes God to witness that his relation is faithful and sincere, and the reader can give credence to all therein contained. After such solemn statement prefaced to what obviously contains so many falsehoods, some explanation must be found, for after all Hennepin was a priest and a religious. One explanation is suggested by Father Goyens, and it is here taken in a somewhat different sense than that intended by Hennepin's defender.

Those who at all cost pretend to look upon the voyage of Hennepin to the mouth of the Mississippi as a falsehood, do thereby strip his first work, the *Description of Louisiana*, of all authority. Yet no suspicion was ever cast on this book even by his rivals. Forsooth, a convicted forger deserves no confidence either in the present or in the past. Now, the most exacting critics unanimously sing the undeniable qualities of the *Description*. Is it probable then that an author until now truthful, honest and sincere, should have made a complete about face at the expense of truth shortly after, in two consecutive works spread far and wide and translated into several languages?¹⁸⁷

It is sincerely to be hoped that one day Father Goyens' argument for a hopeless cause will be repudiated. The paragraph comes to this: the *Description of Louisiana* is true, therefore the *New Discovery* is true; Hennepin did not lie in the second because he told the truth in the first; Hennepin did not lie in 1682, therefore he did not lie in 1697! Since when do statements made by a man become true precisely because a decade and a half before—there is no question of "shortly" after—he had given a substantially truthful narrative of his adventures? Will it be maintained that because Hennepin told the truth in 1682, he had become impeccable, incapable of telling a lie? What label will be affixed to his own contradictory assertions that he went down the Mississippi and that he did not go down? To argue from past truthfulness to necessary present veracity is not only bad logic, but it is unheard of psychology, and as historical methodology it is ridiculous.

After having laid down the unusual premises, that if Her

¹⁸⁶ Ogg., *The Opening of the Mississippi*, New York, 1904.

¹⁸⁷ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 482.

nepin lied in the *New Discovery*, if he had pilfered from Le Clercq, Father Goyens continues:

The case would seem to belong to pathology. A Hennepin who would be a forger, a liar, an indelicate man who would not be worthy to bear his name. It would be a caricature of our great Hennepin, it would be an unrecognizable imitation. The dilemma is not eluded by making the printers responsible. Hennepin would have loudly protested. If he did not protest against the pretended interpolations, it is because he alone took upon himself the responsibility for them. As a matter of fact he remained as faithfully truthful in his subsequent works [*New Discovery* and *New Voyage*] as he had been in the first.¹⁸⁸

The only excuse one can find for Hennepin is stated precisely above: he had become a pathological case. Subjectively, when he took God to witness, he believed that he was telling the truth; he had also so stoutly asserted having gone to the mouth of the Mississippi that he ended up believing he actually went; objectively, however, Hennepin was not telling the truth. He was boastful by nature, inclined to exaggerate everything that would make him appear important; avid of self glorification, he was so vain that he sacrificed everybody and everything, including truth, to his vanity. La Salle knew Hennepin's shortcomings. In 1681, he put one of his correspondents on guard against what the Recollect might say about his adventures among the Sioux:

It is necessary to know him somewhat, for he will not fail to exaggerate everything; it is his character; and to myself, he has written as though he had been all ready to be burned, although he was not even in danger; but he believes that it is honorable in him to act in this way, and he speaks more in keeping with what he wishes than with what he knows.¹⁸⁹

Hennepin wished he had gone to the mouth of the Mississippi, as is plain from the *Description of Louisiana*, when he wrote that he had the intention of going, but was prevented by the Sioux. To him such intention became equivalent to having gone. The ultimate result of this queer psychological process is the *New Discovery*.

Epilogue

There is a very peculiar sequence at the end of Hennepin's

¹⁸⁸ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 482.

¹⁸⁹ BN., Clairambault, 1016:187, Margry, II, 259-260.

sojourn in Holland which should be noticed. After his earlier excitement, when the fire of composition had cooled off, Hennepin seems to have realized how his "discovery" of the mouth of the Mississippi was likely to involve him in misadventures, in comparison with which his previous troubles and his hardships among the Sioux would dwindle into insignificance.

In 1685 or later,¹⁹⁰ he had refused when his superior told him to go back to Canada as a missionary even for one year, under the plea that it was against the constitutions of the Order. Then, in 1696, "God who always takes care of oppressed innocence sent M. de Blathwait to my help." Thanks to this Englishman's influence, Hennepin obtained from the commissary general in Louvain leave to go as a missionary to America. This permission also included the leave "to spend in one of the United Provinces [Holland], left to my choice, the time necessary to work on the memoirs of my Discovery."¹⁹¹ What had happened to Hennepin between his absolute refusal to go to America and his anxiety to return has never been ascertained and is immaterial.

The *New Discovery* printed in Utrecht was very popular in Great Britain; it stirred English interest in the new colonization. Hennepin, throughout the *New Discovery* and the *New Voyage* clarified his willingness to go back to his Louisiana, to guide the English thither, whenever they were ready to go. This fitted in with Coxe's Carolana scheme. An expedition to the "Delights of America" was being prepared in England. Hennepin would certainly be asked to make good his grandiloquent offers of guiding the ships to the mouth of the Mississippi which he had seen and described so beautifully. Coxe and his associates would take the necessary means to force the friar, living in the dominions of William III, to show the way. This was not in the least to the taste of Hennepin; his "reputation in England as an expert on the West"¹⁹² was becoming most embarrassing, and he was likely to pay very dear for his hoax. He knew he had much less knowledge of the position of the Mississippi than La Salle had, and the explorer died trying to find the river by sea. It would be very dangerous to let the pilots steer the ships to St. Louis Bay [Matagorda]; La Salle had gone there, and had not found the Mississippi. Could anyone ever be quite sure of what those ruthless English seamen would do if in the Gulf

¹⁹⁰ Lemay, "Le P. Hennepin et l'obédience de 1696," in *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 154-155.

¹⁹¹ ND., *Avis au lecteur*.

¹⁹² Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 56.

Hennepin would not know where to turn to find the mouth of the Mississippi? Might he not find himself swinging from the yardarm or walking the plank if he should fail as a guide?

There was only one way out. He must leave the dominions of the English king and stay clear of the territory of his allies.¹⁰⁰ As is known, he went to the French ambassador at The Hague, put Bonrepaus under secrecy, and begged him to petition the minister for the necessary leave to return to France. The ambassador in his letter to Pontchartrain did not think that Hennepin would be of very much use for the development of the

¹⁰⁰ It is not hereby lost sight of the fact that the Jansenists of Utrecht had succeeded in having the town council and the States General refuse to renew the *permis de séjour*. This permit to stay in Holland had expired three weeks prior to Hennepin's visit to the French ambassador. Why did he not go to the Spanish Netherlands or to England?

In *Minnesota History*, XIX, December 1938, pages 393-398, Grace Lee Nute deals with "Father Hennepin's Later Years." An unrecorded voyage to America of the missionary is given by the writer as "perfectly possible." The question asked is whether Hennepin was with the Carolana expedition of 1699. "The evidence for this possibility lies in the correspondence," of Dubos and Thoynard, says Miss Nute. Dubos, it is true wrote, September 4, 1699, that in Utrecht "they believed" Hennepin to have gone to England thence to embark for America. Besides the letter of Bonrepaus to Pontchartrain, dated July 17, 1698, wherein the ambassador stated that Hennepin was leaving for Italy on a Tuscan vessel, there is the letter of Pierre Codde who had every reason to follow the missionary's movements. Codde wrote from 'S Graveland, July 18, 1698, to his Roman agent, Du Vaucel, that Hennepin had certainly left on a Genoese vessel, and that the Recollect had declared his intention of going to Rome from Genoa (Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 149). Father Lemay (*Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 51) has called attention to the fact that for seventeen months neither Codde nor Du Vaucel make mention of Hennepin. It seems as though the missionary had been swallowed by the sea. Lemay does not, naturally, consider the hypothesis of a voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. There is enough evidence to show that Hennepin was not a member of the Carolana expedition. There is not one word in Coxe about the presence of the Recollect. Bienville spoke to Captain Bond and went down the Mississippi with the Englishman. Bond says he had with him the *New Discovery*, but makes no mention of its author being aboard. There was a French Protestant on the vessel. He too spoke at length with Bienville (Margry, IV, 397). It is unbelievable that he would have failed to mention Hennepin either being with them or with the other ship that sailed toward the Pánuco. An apodictic proof would be to know the exact date of the return of the Carolana expedition to England. One thing is certain: It did not return before the very end of 1699 or the beginning of 1700 (Cf. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 57, notes 29, 30, 58-59). It took two months and a half to make the journey from the Gulf directly to France. Bienville met Bond near today's English Turn, September 5, 1699, O. S. (Illinois Historical Collections, IX, 416-417); on September 15, 1699, N. S., according to the journal of Sauvolle (Margry, IV, 456); on September 16, N. S., according to La Harpe (*Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 19). The presence of Hennepin near Rome is recorded fifteen months before Dubos' letter of March 1, 1701. Du Vaucel wrote to Codde, from Rome, December 19, 1699: "I only learned yesterday that Brother Louis Hennepin has been here [Rome] for some time." It is clear that if Hennepin had been a member of the Carolana expedition, he could not have been in Rome *depuis quelque temps* in the middle of December 1699.

colonies, "I thought that you would not be sorry to get this man out of this country [Holland] and [that you could] send him to Quebec where there are Religious of his Order. There, under the pretext of employing him in the missions around Quebec, M. the Count de Frontenac could keep him, thus preventing him from coming back to this country and from exciting the English and the Dutch to found new establishments in North America."¹⁹⁴ The king gave his consent. Hennepin could go back to France and, if he wished, leave would be given him to go to America.

Before the answer came from Paris, however, Hennepin had taken another decision. By going to the French ambassador had he not avoided one evil and run into another? There was his epistle to William III in which Louis XIV fared very badly. The Great Monarch might forgive the friar, but he was known to have a long memory for such insults, and once in French territory, Hennepin might very well be sent to some cell to meditate on the advisability of curbing his pen. If he were allowed to stay in France, in one of the Recollect convents, his brethren would certainly ask him to explain the comparisons he had made between the French and the Flemish missionaries. Le Clercq was still alive, and he would naturally ask for information about the journal Hennepin had given to Leroux. Others would be curious to know why he was so anxious to come to France instead of going to the territories of His Most Catholic Majesty, "my King." All these inquiries would be most embarrassing to say the least.

In Canada, the situation would not be much better. The French Recollects of Quebec would be entitled to ask the same questions. Naturally all this would be done in a good natured manner, but to some questions it would be hard to give a satisfactory answer.

In Canada, there were the Jesuits whom he had abused, insulted, and reviled. It was to be feared that they would not view his coming with great enthusiasm after he had so signally betrayed their confidence in 1681.¹⁹⁵ Hennepin was too restless to be

¹⁹⁴ These letters were found by H. Froidevaux who published them in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., II, 1905, 281-287. They were reprinted by J.-E. Roy in the *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, 1911, 59-61; by Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 329-331; and by Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 146-150.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 17-21; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin à Paris en 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 131-137.

satisfied with remaining in the missions around Quebec, as suggested by the French ambassador. What kind of reception would he get from his former traveling companions? Duluth and some of the men who had accompanied La Salle were still alive. Tonty would certainly not fail to ask him in what occasion he, Tonty, had acted the coward. Accault was in the Illinois country and would have been most interested in having him narrate their voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, how Accault had paddled 1,700 miles upstream in 9 days. No one could find fault with Jolliet for asking Hennepin when and where he had denied ever having descended the Mississippi to the Arkansas. And the French of New France might resent and show their resentment for the aspersions cast by the author of the *New Discovery* and of the *New Voyage* on their aptitude as navigators and as colonizers. The familiar saying that one is between the devil and the deep blue sea finds an apt application in this case it seems.

But Hennepin found a way out of all these difficulties. Within three weeks of his first visit to the French embassy, before the answer had come from Paris, he went a second time to pay his respects to Bonrepaus, showing letters he had received from England, where feverish preparations for the Mississippi expedition were being made. The ambassador wrote to Pontchartrain:

but as this man is very restless, he spoke to me of his desire to take a trip to Italy, and [said] that he had found an opportunity [to satisfy his desire]. The captain of a large Tuscan vessel now in Amsterdam offered to take him as chaplain on his ship. I did not think I should dissuade him from going; that man is not necessary in Canada; my intention was only to get him out of this country and to prevent him from exciting the English to found new establishments in North America. He told me, however, that he would go back to France to return thence to Canada as soon as you would let him know that you allow him, and he left his address.¹⁰⁶

Hennepin was not so foolish as to return to France, and he seems to have had a presentiment of what Louis XIV was to write the following year to the governor and the intendant of New France, that if Hennepin were to set foot in Canada, they must ship him back to the intendant of Rochefort whom His Majesty told what was to be done with the Recollect.¹⁰⁷

From Amsterdam, Hennepin went to Rome. The last indirect

¹⁰⁶ Bonrepaus to Pontchartrain, July 17, 1698, Froidevaux, *loc. cit.*, 286.

¹⁰⁷ Roy, *Rapport sur les Archives de France*, 62; Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 163.

reference to the Recollect in connection with his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi is found in a letter dated Rome, April 24, 1700. "I learned that Brother Hennepin is having an Italian translation made of his *Decouverte de nouveaux pais &c.* [the *New Discovery*], and that he intends to have it printed here. All he needs now is to dedicate it to the Pope after having dedicated it to King William. We shall try to prevent its publication. That monk has supporters here."¹⁹⁸ It would have been interesting to read this new version of the voyage;¹⁹⁹ interesting too would have been the dedicatory epistle to His Holiness, Pope Innocent XII, or, if the printing had been delayed until the end of the year, to Clement XI; still more interesting would have been a comparison between the dedicatory epistle to the Pope and that to William III.

In 1701, Hennepin was still interested in American affairs. He was then staying at the Ara Coeli Convent where the General of the Franciscans resided. He had succeeded in persuading Cardinal Spada to help found a Louisiana mission.²⁰⁰ After this, the archives are silent. Where and when Hennepin passed away has not yet been ascertained.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

¹⁹⁸ Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 186.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Lemay, "Le P. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 66.

²⁰⁰ Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 189; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 67, note 141. This article was in the press when the last study on Father Hennepin was published in *Nos Cahiers*, III, December 1938, 341-374. It consists of the notes left by the late Father Lemay edited by the director of the review. As the title indicates, "Le P. Hennepin devant l'histoire," it is a continuation of the article published in the August number, in which the French authors dealing with Hennepin were listed. In the December number, Belgian, American, and Canadian writers' opinions of Hennepin are tabulated. The descent of the Mississippi is not discussed.

Notes and Comment

BOOKS

Flight Into Oblivion, by Alfred Jackson Hanna, was recently published by Johnson Publishing Company of Richmond, Virginia. The volume has as its purpose the description of the flight of the Confederate cabinet during the several tempestuous months following the Civil War. The tragic exodus of heroic men and women of the Confederacy on their way to oblivion is graphically reconstructed. It would be difficult to find a more interesting and dramatic story, and it is hoped that the suggestion of the author in regard to the work of writing full-length, critical biographies of the members of the cabinet will be acted upon. Undoubtedly, his work will inspire some novelist or dramatist, but until such persons take up the theme, *Flight Into Oblivion* will satisfy. Much praise may be bestowed upon the printer and the artists, who have illustrated the book beautifully; the maps are not only helpful but excellently drawn. References are placed after the last chapter; a suitable bibliography and index complete the work in 306 pages. Some of the more scholarly minded may quarrel with the author because of his sympathetic expressions, but none can deny that he has drawn many vivid and lasting pictures of the moments after the great conflict, and has re-created the spirit of the times in a fascinating manner.

Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis, by John Francis McDermott, has recently come from The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. The volume of 186 pages is in its exterior aspects a fine example of the printer's art. The modest preface outlines the purpose and plan of the book, which is a record of book-ownership and library collections among the Creole inhabitants. The work is divided into three parts; I, Cultural Conditions on the Confines of a Wilderness, is an essay designed to acquaint the reader with the early cultural life of the people in and around the growing village of Saint Louis. This is very well done, and the conclusion is that, in spite of the lack of schools, presses, and public libraries, the level of culture was high. Parts II and III are devoted to descriptive catalogues of the libraries in the homes of Saint Louisans, and information about their owners. The historian and the bibliophile will find much of interest in these pages. The author and publishers have produced a worthwhile book.

The Church in the Nineteenth Century, by Raymond Corrigan, S. J., has recently (1938) come from the press of the Bruce Publishing Company as one of the Science and Culture Series of books under the general editorship of Joseph Husslein, S. J. A wealth of reading,

canonical and theological erudition, and contact with European thought in its setting in foreign universities lies as a background for this scholarly and stimulating work. It is not designed as a detailed history of the Catholic Church during the nineteenth century, but is more a judicious survey of the position of the papacy in its relation to every form of spiritual, intellectual, and material endeavor within the period of the rise of the "isms." Its great value lies in the clarity of the presentation of the numerous problems confronting the Church and the difficulties, occasioned by the times, surrounding the solution of especially trying social and religious problems. Again, the book illustrates the origins and continuity of the thought of the Church with respect to the problems, and in tracing this continuity the author had the foresight on occasion to bring his discussions down to the present time. The outstanding churchmen and outstanding events and institutions are in general given sufficiently proportionate treatment. Other noteworthy features are the manner in which the author presents opposing opinions in controversial matters, and the fearlessness with which he exposes cancerous growths within the body ecclesiastic.

Books on religious orders and their founders continue to come forth regularly. R. F. Bennett wrote *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (Macmillan Company, 1937); these critical essays treat of the constitutions of the Order, and of the principles underlying its learning, poverty, education, and preaching. Sister Mary Hortense Kohler, assisted by Sister Mary Fulgence Franz, both Dominicans, brought out *Life and Work of Mother Benedicta Bauer*, telling the story of the Bavarian girl who entered the Dominican convent at Ratisbon and later became a missionary foundress at Racine, Wisconsin (The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937). *The Life of Venerable Francis Libermann*, founder of the Order of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, was written by G. Lee (Burns Oates and Washbourne). *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, by the late Father Alois Kroess, has been published in part; the second volume, completed ten years ago, appeared in 1937, and the third is to appear in 1940. Gaëtan de Bernonville has an account of *Les Jésuites*, which has recently been translated in part into English by Kathleen Balfe. Georges Goyau, *La Congrégation de la mission des Lazaristes*, gives a brief history of the Lazarist Fathers and an account of their work at present. Books and articles pertaining to the *Devotio Moderna* are listed in J. M. E. Dols, *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie*, published at Nimwegen in two parts; the second part contains works on the Brethren of the Common Life and *The Imitation of Christ*. In French, Dom Martène has added another, the seventh, volume to his *Histoire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES

A great change has come over the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, the annual publication of which has been going on since 1900. For some time the present editor, Paul M. Angle, has been noticing the lack of appeal of both title and appearance of the volume. The exterior, uninviting as it was, caused some readers to pass over the book and miss its very interesting contents. To obviate the difficulty the title, the arrangement of the contents, and the format has been changed. The new title is *Papers in Illinois History*, and this is to be followed by the year, the first year being 1937. The editor is to be congratulated on the appearance of the book and his organization of the pleasing contents. The illustrations are very good, and Chicagoans should be particularly pleased with the papers treating various phases of the history of their city.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, June 1938, applying well its recently inaugurated policy for awakening the interest of a greater number of readers in historical backgrounds of the State, opens with a fine series of letters from Abraham Lincoln to Henry E. Drummer. Paul M. Angle presents these under the title "The Record of a Friendship." An illustrated account, "Farming in Illinois a Century Ago," is the work of Hubert Schmidt. The longest of the articles and one very noteworthy is that of Ernest E. East, "Contributions to Chicago History from the Peoria County Records." In this, items of a personal nature about early Chicagoans are gathered together for a sprightly presentation by the indefatigable Peorian. A continuation of his story appeared, as promised, in the September number of the same *Journal*. The first article in this latter number is a tribute by Theodore C. Pease to the late Laurence Marcellus Larson, who was "member and director of the Illinois State Historical Society, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, thirty years a member and seventeen years Head of the University of Illinois History Department, President of the American Historical Association." The tribute is exceedingly well put.

The *Missouri Historical Review*, October 1938, in the opening paragraphs of its Notes and Comments, points with pride to the newly achieved distinction of the State Historical Society of Missouri, namely, that of the largest number of individual memberships of all historical societies of the country. Its paid membership is now 2,200; the New York State Historical association is second with 2,000; Pennsylvania third with 1,900, and Kansas fourth with 1,800. Much of the progress of the Society and its *Review* may be attributed to the efficiency and care of the secretary and editor, Floyd C. Shoemaker.

Instead of publishing the usual number of articles, documents, and reviews in its October 1938 number, the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*

printed a complete table of contents for the twenty-nine volumes of the *Quarterly* and its predecessor the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. The guide was arranged by Jesse S. Douglas.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June 1938, carries a contribution from Louise Phelps Kellogg under the title "Wisconsin's Eminence." The purpose of the paper is to ascertain what the people of Wisconsin have contributed toward American excellence as revealed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Who among the eminent Americans were Wisconsin born or trained? Dr. Kellogg goes over the names of the illustrious, the governors, senators, congressmen, editors, scholars, missionaries, authors, artists, professional men of various types, and business men. By way of mild criticism, she mentions names that should have been included, and thus in a short space gives an interesting review of influential persons in Wisconsin's history.

A good paper on an unusual theme appeared in the Autumn Number, 1938, of *Michigan History Magazine*. Its title indicates its scope: "History of Execution in What is Now the State of Michigan," by Louis H. Burbey. The last portion of the article explains how Michigan, though not having a capital punishment law, actually applied one last year and executed Chebatoris under the "Treason Act."

Unusual too, but on a far less serious subject, is the article "Kansas Play-Party Songs," by Myra E. Hull, in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August 1938. These songs, a combination of game, song, dance, and pantomime, are described, and in a number of cases the words and music are given. Some very entertaining pages are found in this number of the *Quarterly* under the heading of Bypaths of Kansas History. The items are taken from early newspapers of Kansas, one describing Marshal "Wild Bill" Hickok in a shooting affray, another the sight of a recently scalped man passing through Hays.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association recently issued its *Report 1936-1937*. The English section contains accounts of "The Abbé Maillard and Halifax," by Rev. John E. Burns, of "The Honourable John Elmsley, Legislative and Executive Councillor of Upper Canada (1801-1863)," by Brother Alfred, and "Sir Richard Scott, K. C.," by W. L. Scott. Rev. J. A. Lenhard gives a survey of the arrival and progress of German immigrants to Ontario, and Donald J. Pierce offers some new viewpoints on "The Rebellion of 1837 and Political Liberty." In the French section Mgr. Olivier Maurault has "Les Lettres de M. Tronson," Superior General of St. Sulpice from 1676 until 1700, and Rev. Léon Pouliot writes on "Le Père Nicolas Point," diarist, missionary in Ontario and in the Rocky Mountains.

Book Reviews

The Jesuits of the Middle United States. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D. New York, America Press, 1938. Three volumes.

When one sits down to the task of giving his opinion of a book brought forth by the difficult research of a fellow historian, he does so generally with certain misgivings about his own qualifications correctly to estimate the value of the book and to express properly an appreciation. Misgivings of this sort in the particular case of Father Garraghan's work are tripled, for here there is question of three volumes, and these of the larger size, containing within their covers more than two thousand pages, interspersed with documents, maps, charts, and illustrations. The materials have been gathered from archives all over this country and abroad; cullings and items have been incorporated from thousands of documents, diligently scrutinized. The present writer knows, as only one who has lived beside Father Garraghan during the past several years can know, that every statement, even every word in the three volumes has been carefully weighed before being set in its proper place. He knows, moreover, that the labor of producing this unified story has gone on through the past twenty years. Under these circumstances and in the presence of such a solid product of ripe scholarship it were indeed idle presumption for anyone to pose as a qualified critic of the contents of the books. Reviews of the work have already appeared in news columns and in magazines, and while each reviewer has pointed to one or another of the qualities of the workmanship, the consensus is a tribute of profound regard to the author for his monumental achievement.

Broadly speaking, the scope of the work is the narrative of the foundations, the spread, and the progress of the Jesuit institutions and activities in the middle United States for the hundred years after 1823. It is fundamentally the story of men, religious men, who left Europe to participate in the development of our western frontier by establishing universities, colleges, secondary and grade schools, parishes, and missions in localities which were becoming or which became centers of population and culture. The pioneer Jesuits from the various European countries, who laid the foundations for the later spread and growth of their Order in the West, were the inspiration of younger members to come to America. The latter carried on nobly until gradually, with the building up of the Middle West, their places were taken by the influx of recruits of American birth, who, only after long generations, took over the administration of the establishments, central and most important of which during the last century was St. Louis University.

To descend to details from the broader outline is impossible. The history revolves around individual Jesuits working under plan toward the completion of two provinces. Hundreds of Jesuits pass in review and receive evaluation insofar as each aided or retarded the progress of the Jesuit houses, schools, and missions. Their diversified interests and achievements as lecturers, missionaries to Indians, missionary "revivalists," writers, chaplains to hospitals, orphanages, and jails, authors, and educators are brought before the reader not as a matter of laudation of the individual but as expected instances of zeal and as items in the evolving pattern. Since their endeavors were part and parcel of the development of social, civic, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions in many of the cities of the Middle West, their history as narrated by Father Garraghan is wider than the mere history of a religious Order would be; it is an integral part of the history of the Catholic Church in the region designated; it is a chapter in the history of education; it is a significant page in the life story of cities and their citizenry. And it is a readable and human account, written in the gracious style which as in previous works of the author has been a source of pleasure and instruction to different classes of readers.

Father Garraghan has completed this long work along the lines of approved scholarly method. He has approached his subject sympathetically yet critically. His findings will be valuable to writers engaged in writing on local and institutional phases of the development of the West. Although he has written the history of only one religious group, the character of his work entitles him to a rank among the outstanding historians of this country.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Prairie du Chien: French, British, American. By Peter Lawrence Scanlan. Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xiii+258, maps, plans.

Prairie du Chien, named for an Indian chief called Chien, by virtue of its location at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, played an important part in the early history of Wisconsin. Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet, in 1673; Nicholas Perrot, in 1688; Duluth, and Father Hennepin were among the first white men to pass through this region, and after the establishment of the fur trade, this site was a strategic point for a trading post and fort.

The author of the book has shown the successive stages in the development of Prairie du Chien, under French, then British, and finally American ownership. The trading post was important in the earliest years for the explorer, missionary, and fur trader. The fort, known in turn as Fort Shelby, Fort McKay, and Fort Crawford, was

not only a protection from Indians, but functioned in the struggles between the French and British, and later, between the British and Americans, for possession of the Northwest Territory. Under American ownership, Fort Crawford served as headquarters for the army, which carried on the work of exploration, road-making, arbitration with the Indians, and general maintenance of law and order. As the commerce in furs declined, permanent settlers began to come in, instead of the fur traders, many of whom were transients, and the need of building churches, homes, and schools, platting town lots and opening roads arose. By the time the first official census was taken in 1801, Prairie du Chien had a population of about 550.

Dr. Scanlan has based his work on comprehensive study of local, state, and national records, and of documents in Montreal, Quebec, and Washington, D. C. Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, in her Introduction, states that this book is not only the first full history of Prairie du Chien, but is one that is authentic and reliable. A bibliography follows the body of the book. The many notes are given at the end of the work, arranged by chapters. This editorial arrangement will prove an inconvenience to readers accustomed to the page by page citation.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana. Translated by Marion E. Cross. University of Minnesota Press, 1938. Pp. xvii+190.

The Colonial Dames of America have published this very readable and praiseworthy translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*. The *Description*, published at Paris in 1683 and translated into English for the first time by John Gilmary Shea in 1880, was generally read because of the European interest in travel narratives of New World explorers. Evidence has been adduced to prove, as Grace Lee Nute observes in the Introduction, that "it is propaganda of a very subtle kind; that is, it aimed to promote French imperialism in North America, but tried to ensure that the royal favor would descend on the 'proper persons' as instruments of policy," for example, the La Salle-Recollect-Jansenist clique.

According to Shea, Hennepin's "original work . . . is supported to a remarkable degree by all contemporary authorities, by topography and Indian life. The charge made by Margry that it is a plagiarism is utterly absurd." "Dom Henpin's wretched book," as Renaudot termed it, belongs to Hennepin. The later work of Hennepin (*Nouvelle Découverte*) gave rise to the widely bruited accusation of mendacity. We conclude, therefore, that, while we may generally rely on this *first Description de la Louisiane*, whether in the original or in translation by Shea and by Cross, we must be on our guard against a subtle propaganda.

The merits and demerits of the present translation can best be shown by contrasting it with Shea's. His translation is literal, involved, and tiresome; this translation is free, clear, and pleasing. Slight departures from the original thought and from the French flavor, however, may be noted; for example, Shea says, "it is a secret working of Providence," Cross, "it was no chance working of Providence"; Shea, "of which I do not here recall the names," Cross, "which I will not name"; Shea, "women wear mourning for their near relatives for a whole year," Cross, "women wear mourning for an entire year."

Shea's introductory "Sketch of Hennepin" is possibly of greater biographical and critical value than the short Foreword and Introduction of the present work. A sturdy blue cover, high-grade paper, clear print, convenient paragraphing and sectioning, notes, and an index enhance its value; still, the price seems high. The book is a credit to Miss Cross and its sponsors.

H. J. MCAULIFFE

St. Louis University

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. Compiled by Everett E. Edwards, with an introduction by Fulmer Mood. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1938. Pp. xi+316.

In the volume dealing with the early writings of the late Professor Turner, a commendable effort has been made to provide in permanent form several of the literary productions no longer easily obtainable. Two essays, "The Significance of History" which appeared in 1891, and "Problems in American History," published in 1892, have long been out of print, but are helpful in tracing the growth of ideas which were developed more fully in the two longer pieces of research included in the volume. Turner's doctoral dissertation, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin*, presented in 1891 to Johns Hopkins University, and the famous essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" presented in 1893, are also included. One of Professor Turner's former students, Dr. Fulmer Mood, prepared a very revealing study of "Turner's Formative Period" for the volume. Everett E. Edwards has compiled a lengthy list of the writings of Turner, and several other items of interest to students of Turner will be found in this work. Despite the fact that many hands have aided in the preparation of the book, a marked sense of unity prevails, due perhaps to the influence of Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, who has contributed an interesting and appreciative preface.

There is no effort made by any of the contributors to advocate a full acceptance by the historians of today of any of Turner's theories or arguments. So much has been said on his "frontier theory" that it would be pointless in a brief review of the book to present any reasons

for or against the controversial proposition. One who reads these early writings will inevitably be forced to concede something to the position taken by Turner, even though not everyone will agree with the definite statement, "The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization" (p. 188). More apt to secure assent, perhaps, is the statement, "Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history" (p. 189). At any rate, Turner did make a contribution in that he caused American historians to appreciate more fully than they would have otherwise, the profound effect that America was having upon Americans. Had it not been for his influence, it is doubtful if the interest evident today in American social history would have developed to its present impressive proportions. Whether or not one accepts all of Turner's teachings, no one can deny that he is one of those American scholars whose work has had a profound and shaping influence on subsequent research. His own writings, with their evidence of painstaking investigation, have made it evident that he first completed his research, and then propounded his theory, rather than advanced a theory, and then twisted research data to substantiate the theory. His general effect on American historical scholarship was sound and at the same time, provocative.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union. By A. L. Kohlmeier. Bloomington, Indiana, The Principia Press, 1938. Pp. v+257.

This volume is intended by the author as a study in commerce and politics. As the complete title, which may be shortened to *The Old Northwest and the Union*, indicates, the author endeavored to show that the Old Northwest was essential to the preservation of the Union. He has done well, in the opinion of the reviewer, and has also shown that the preservation of the Union was essential for the welfare of the Old Northwest. In few comparable studies has such full use been made of the annual reports of railroads, canals, etc., to ascertain with precision the source, destination, and quantity of shipments. Through one decade in our history after another, comparisons are made showing the amounts of wheat, corn, beef, pork, wool, and other products which left the Old Northwest, and went to the east by rail or water, or to the south by various routes. Much attention is devoted to the efforts made effectively to link the southeastern part of the nation with the northwestern section. The part which such a nexus would

play in averting a possible civil war is stressed. The rise of the railroad movement in the Old Northwest, and the part it played in linking that area and the East are well presented. Although political phases are included, the basis of the study is the exhaustive effort to show the movement of crops from the Old Northwest, and the necessity of finding more markets as production increased. The part played by the Old Northwest as the Civil War broke out is developed effectively. The author states, "The fact is apparent today as it was to the majority in 1861 that no one part of the country was more desperately in need of preservation of the Union than was the Old Northwest" (p. 244). In subsequent paragraphs various arguments are well developed, showing that while the northeastern or the southeastern part of the United States might survive as an independent economic and political entity, that such survival would be practically impossible to the landlocked northwestern part of the nation. It is made evident that the Old Northwest did not want either the North or the South to gain complete control of the federal machinery of government, but preferred a balance of power of North and South, so that neither could or would harm the Old Northwest. As is also stressed, the resources of the Old Northwest were perhaps the determining influence on the outcome of the Civil War, but the resources were placed at the disposal of the North because the Old Northwest could not do otherwise, and survive. The Northwest could not admit that either Louisiana or New York could secede, and thereafter have any assurance that products from the Northwest would reach the world market. Necessity demanded that she fight against any group which might close off to the Northwest the channels of trade. Economic factors determined the political alignment of the Old Northwest, to a marked degree. The book is a contribution to a phase of western history which needed precisely such a thorough study and impartial presentation.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography. Edited by William T. Hutchinson. University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. x+417.

When low in spirit teachers of history may derive comfort and hope from the growing tendency of former students to collaborate in the production of a volume in honor of their quondam teacher. The practice has its good point, but it may be asked whether it is not being overdone to such a degree that before long a teacher will have reason to consider himself slighted, or at least have cause to suspect the quality of his service, if no such testimonial is forthcoming. However that may be, twenty-one former students of Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, have cooperated in contributing this vol-

ume of essays as a "expressoin of friendship and esteem" upon the occasion of his retirement from the faculty after nearly thirty years of service.

This is not a comprehensive treatment of American historiography. Only twenty-one historians, ranging from Bancroft to Beveridge and Parrington, scholars whose work is ended and whose research was chiefly in American history prior to the close of the Civil War, are selected for appraisal. Of necessity great names are thus omitted, but such omission is not intended as disparagement, nor is choice an assertion of preeminence. Those selected are merely regarded as representatives of types. The essays range from a maximum of twenty-seven pages on John Fiske, to only ten on George L. Beer, the average being around twenty pages. After a succinct biographical sketch to serve as background, and a list of writings, the essays, with one exception, dwell on the methods of research, the influences determining the distinctive outlook on the past, and the reasons for assigning a place in the hall of fame. In general the work is well done, even if one or another essay is a bit sketchy or jejune. That conventional appraisals are arrived at will surprise no one. The treatment is objective; there is no undue indulging in criticism or eulogy; there is no slavish regard for great names. Thus we read of John Fiske, "His unusual talents were turned into a channel so broad that the resulting stream of books, impressive as it was, was much too shallow to float any bark of scholarship save one of the lightest draft" (p. 170).

Inevitably in a cooperative work such as this the essays vary in value and interest, and it would be invidious to make selections for commendation or censure. Nevertheless, to the student of history the essay on Alvord is appealing because of the detailed account of his method, while the essays on Parkman, Turner, and Alvord should appeal because of their extensive work in the history of the mid-west.

A few general observations suggested by this book may not be out of place. Assuming that it is the duty of the historian to discover the truth and to state it with absolute impartiality how can this be done by one possessed of a "rationalist mind," "wearied by orthodoxies in politics and religion," as is predicated of Osgood? The tendency of such men to assume that rationalism is synonymous with freedom from prejudice, and that they alone can be objective, is indeed a sublime conceit. Moreover, such a phrase as "a Capuchin monastery of Passionists" (p. 46) prompts the query why some historians are so meticulous about dates, page, volume, and other such lesser details, when they neglect to make elementary inquiries on more fundamental subjects. Do they regard these matters as of no account, or do they suppose that by intuition they possess all worthwhile knowledge of things Catholic? Some historians should reflect on the contrast between Roosevelt and Turner. Of Roosevelt we read, "Roosevelt wrote too much on too many subjects and divided his interest and energy

far too greatly ever to permit him to become a historian of first eminence" (p. 251); while of Turner we are told that he "wrote less and influenced his generation more than any other important historian" (p. 252). Finally, all writers of history would do well to take to heart the straightforward advice of Albert Beveridge, "If he wants to give his opinions as the champion of a cause let him say so, and not palm off his views as history or biography. If he means to propagandize, let him do it honestly; let him write a tract or hire a hall" (p. 388).

A volume such as these *Essays in Historiography* has distinct value, for as Carl Becker says: "Such manuals have a high practical value. To the candidate for the Ph. D. they are indeed indispensable, since they provide him at second hand with the most up-to-date information. From them he learns what were the defects and limitations of his predecessors, even the most illustrious, without the trouble of reading their works. . . . Knowing the limitations of our most famous predecessors gives us all confidence in the value of our own researches: we may not be brilliant, but we can be sound" (*American Historical Review*, October 1938, p. 20).

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College